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THE CITIES AND BISHOPRICS

OF

PHRYGIA

*W. M. RAMSAY*



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THE  
CITIES AND BISHOPRICS  
OF  
PHRYGIA

BEING AN ESSAY OF  
THE LOCAL HISTORY OF PHRYGIA  
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE TURKISH CONQUEST

BY  
W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D.

*Ord. Mitglied d. kais. d. archäol. Instituts, 1884; formerly Fellow of Exeter  
and of Lincoln College, Oxford; Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen;  
formerly Professor of Classical Archaeology, Oxford*

VOL. I  
THE LYCOS VALLEY AND SOUTH-WESTERN PHRYGIA

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THE WRITER  
VENTURES TO DEDICATE THIS BOOK  
TO THE SUPPORTERS OF  
THE ASIA MINOR EXPLORATION FUND

*pro viribus votum solvit libens merito.*

\* \* \*

Chapter IV is founded solely on researches initiated by the Asia Minor Exploration Fund in a district visited by several other travellers. In that district fifteen cities, towns, and villages are now placed. Only one of these fifteen is mentioned in Smith's *Dictionary of Geography*, or in Forbiger's *Alte Geographie*. Through the work of the Fund, the district has become our best source of information about society in Phrygia unaffected by Greek civilization.





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## INTRODUCTION

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EVEN if we possessed adequate authorities about the fate of Phrygia, the task of writing its history would be difficult. There is a lack of unity in the vicissitudes of the land and the people, which would make it hard to give order and cohesion to the narrative, or to catch the attention of the reader. Only for a short time and at a remote period does there appear to have been a unified and independent Phrygian state. Since about 700 B.C., the country has always been under foreign domination; and, in such a condition, unity disappears from its history. Every conqueror must to some extent practise the Roman principle to 'rule by dividing'; and Phrygia under a foreign power necessarily resolved itself into a *congeries* of separate valleys and cities, each of which looked to the external ruler for its administration. Hence the plan of describing separately the fate of each district would be forced on the historian of Phrygia, if he had good authorities to found his work upon.

Still more necessary is it to adopt the plan of a 'Local History,' when the only authorities for the history of the country are a few scattered allusions in ancient writers to isolated events or places, together with the monuments which have been discovered in the country. In such circumstances all that can be done is to parcel the land into districts whose geographical situation imposes on them a certain unity, to collect all the information that can be gleaned from the authors, from inscriptions and monuments, from the survival of names and religious facts in modern times, and from other such scanty sources, and to interpret these in the light of the geographical and national conditions.



The execution of this plan in the present work is imperfect, as I am well aware. Much more might be done than I can do, and much more will yet be done<sup>1</sup>. But fortune has placed in my hands a considerable mass of knowledge, and it seems better to present it to the world as well as my powers and opportunities permit. Before I entered Asia Minor in May 1880, I had been pondering for months over the problems of its history; and since that time it has been my last thought as I fell asleep and my first on waking. Rarely has a space of five hours elapsed by day or by night in which some point of Phrygian antiquities or topography has not been occupying my mind. I have turned over each problem, attempted almost every possible combination, tried numberless changes from various points of view, and gradually month by month the subject has grown clearer. I have enjoyed the advantage of revisiting the country year after year till 1891, and testing the ideas and combinations that had been shaping themselves in my mind. In the later visits I have known what to look for, and where to look for it; and have often been able to guide the natives of the district to the spot I wanted (to their own great astonishment), pick up the evidence required, and pass on after a few minutes' stay. In those later visits it has often been brought home to me how much time was wasted on my earlier journeys through want of knowledge. If I criticize some mistakes and misconceptions of other travellers, I can do so because I have made the same errors myself; their misconceptions are old friends of mine, which have kept me company in long weary rides, which have deluded me and lured me on to spend time and health in proving their real character.

Almost every village on the map of Phrygia, and many not on the map, rouse memories for me; one is the scene of some laughable adventure, one of some great disappointment, a third of a midnight ride, in a fourth we sawed away part of the floor of a mosque (with the connivance of the imam) to disclose an inscription, in a fifth some artful dodge had to be employed to win a copy from the unwilling owner of a 'written stone,' in all patience and work were needed. But

---

<sup>1</sup> In collecting the evidence of books, the scholar in Scotland suffers from the want of a scholar's library; and though I kept lists of references to recondite books, and looked them up in Oxford and London at a later time, yet such

information does not carry full force to the mind except when it is immersed in the subject. Besides the Aberdeen Library, I am indebted to Prof. Ferguson of Glasgow, and Mr. Webster, University Librarian, Edinburgh.



after we had learned how to deal with the natives, and emancipated ourselves from dependence on a Greek servant, our experience has been, with rare exceptions, of great kindness and hospitality and pleasant intercourse with the peasantry. But wherever I have been, and whatever was my luck, my passion has been to look for traces of the past in the facts of the present, in the faces, manners, pronunciation, tales, and superstitions of the people, as well as in the monuments of older days. My interest, and the scope of this book, are not confined to any period; I have tried to throw some light on the question how Phrygia has come to present the aspect that it now shows to the traveller; and I believe that I had no prepossessions for or against any view, but have simply gone where the evidence led me.

At the dawn of our knowledge, Phrygia seems to have been part of that great empire which was subject to the sovereigns of Pteria, the city of the White Syrians on the borders of Cappadocia<sup>1</sup> and Paphlagonia, whose remains are the largest and the most remarkable in Asia Minor, though it has lain in ruins since 539 B.C. The character, the affinities, and the fate of that empire are one of the unsolved problems of history. Its very existence was still unsuspected so recently as twenty years ago; and is hardly even yet admitted by all scholars, or thought of by people in general. Hitherto I have never ventured to do more than argue that such an empire once existed; as to its ethnological affinities, I have not found the evidence sufficient to support any conclusion. Now, while acknowledging the slippery character of the subject, I venture for the first time to support the opinion (maintained already by some scholars, and controverted by others) that that old empire of Pteria was ruled by the king Khitasar, whose war with Rameses II towards 1300 B.C. is one of the most famous events in Egyptian history.

The struggle was fought out between Rameses and the Khita in northern Syria. Among the allies of Khitasar were the chiefs of Kadesh, Aleppo, Carchemish, and other places in northern Syria, Kommagene, Cilicia, and the extreme eastern part of Cappadocia<sup>2</sup>, and

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<sup>1</sup> 'Cappadocia,' here, is a rough geographical designation of a vast region in eastern Asia Minor, inhabited by various peoples. I imply no definite limits in ancient times.

<sup>2</sup> The names are given by Lantsheere

*Race et Langue des Hittites* p. 117 as Naharain, Aratu (Arvad), Chilibu (Aleppo), Qadesh, Carchemish, Anaugas, Akerith (?), Muschanath (?), Leka, Qazuadana, Kati, Keshkesh. Lantsheere places the Keshkesh to the north of Kommagene; but



also the chiefs of the Dardani, Pidasas, Masu, and Maïna (Maeonians). Khitaras, obviously, was not himself ruler of any of these districts which supplied him with allies. He must have been ruler of a great empire; and he has as inferior allies the lords of the great Syrian cities, and of the Maeonians and the Dardani. We gather, then, that his empire was so situated that he could have allies from two widely severed regions, western Asia Minor, and the extreme east of Asia Minor with Syria. None of his allies can be assigned to the countries situated between these two distant regions; and the obvious inference is that the intermediate region, viz. central and western Cappadocia, Phrygia (taking both names in their widest sense), and Lycaonia, was the realm of Khitaras. The confederacy of which he was the head is thus seen to be a geographical fact; and the empire of Khitaras was the same empire whose existence has been inferred from the earliest road-system of Asia Minor<sup>1</sup>.

This opinion is not stated as being completely proved; and, in the following chapters, the rule is observed in regard to it (also in regard to some other views which seem probable though not fully proved), never to draw any inferences from it, but only to bring out the force of reasons that point to it. But it may fairly be said that, unless the geographical identifications quoted above and now generally accepted by orientalistes (though scoffed at by some of the classical scholars) are entirely wrong, the conclusion just stated seems to me inevitable.

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surely they must be identified with the district of Kiskisos in Tauros, between Cappadocia and Cilicia. The name has lasted in all ages, Keshkesh, Kiskisos (a Byzantine bishopric), now Kisken. Lantsheere gives a good analysis of the facts, and the view taken in the text agrees to a considerable extent with his. The Egyptian document is translated in *Records of the Past* II p. 65.

<sup>1</sup> See *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* Ch. I, II. The account of the 'Royal Road' which is there given requires one modification. It went from Pteria, not to the Cilician Gates, but to the Tokhma Su (Melas), which it descended to near the Euphrates. This view results naturally from the facts stated in the paper by Hogarth and me

in M. Maspero's *Recueil* vols. XIV, XV, on *Pre-Hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia*. Pt. I § 3 and Pt. IV. Hogarth pointed out this in 1891 (M. Radet in his *Lydie* p. 101 f. is right in criticizing my former opinion that the Royal Road passed through the Cilician Gates; but I cannot follow him further). The modified route does not require any change in the reasoning, for the road, as thus mapped out, still points to Pteria as the centre of the system. Herodotus here, as in several other cases, has put together two separate and unconnected facts. He has put the guard of the Cilician Gates on the Royal Road, and he has connected the 'Royal Road' therefore with maritime Cilicia (V 49), whereas it crossed Cappadocian Kilikia (V 52).



How far these identifications are true, it is for others to judge. I can only point out what follows from them if they are true, and leave the matter for the future to decide.

One single reason further may be quoted in its favour. Prof. G. Hirschfeld has acutely observed that among the many animals used in the 'Hittite' hieroglyphic system<sup>1</sup>, no beasts of prey have a place; and he correctly infers that the system was invented in a country where such animals did not exist<sup>2</sup>. Where shall we find such a country? Lantsheere's suggestion, p. 101, that the system was invented in Melitene is impossible; that land abounds in mountains and in cover for wild beasts<sup>3</sup>. But the vast open level treeless plains of central Asia Minor fulfil the condition. These plains have probably always been free from beasts of prey, because fresh water is scarce<sup>4</sup>, shade or cover is non-existent, and animals are very scanty, except the domesticated animals, which figure so largely in the hieroglyphs. In this region, probably, the hieroglyphs originated (see Ch. IV p. 140).

From this remote time downwards, the history of each district in Phrygia might be traced, if evidence existed. The irruption of European Phryges split the old empire into two parts, Lydia on the west, and an eastern power beyond the Halys (see p. 7); and interposed between them a new kingdom characterized by something of the adventurous and progressive spirit of Europe. Persians, Greeks, and Romans in succession ruled the land; the Sassanian and Saracen princes vexed it; and the Turks at last conquered it. In one locality we find evidence about one period, in another about another; but in none can we as yet trace an unbroken thread of history.

Perhaps the most important part of this work will be found in the chapters on the early history of Christianity in the country. The questions that were agitating society, the currents of development, the transforming policy of the Roman government and the conservative resistance of the old religious *hiera*, the original co-operation of Pauline Christianity with the Roman policy, the later alliance between the Empire and the native religions against the growing power of the Church, the steps by which the adherents of the new

<sup>1</sup> *Berlin Abhandl.* 1887 p. 551 f.

<sup>2</sup> Da ist nur ein Schluss möglich: jene Schrift ist ersonnen wo es keine solche Thiere gab, also nicht in Syrien.

<sup>3</sup> Anti-Tauros abounds in wild animals; I have seen bear there; and I have been told of wolves, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Hardly found except in wells.



religion, beginning as members of the general society of the country, gradually differentiated themselves from it and created a new form of society—all these topics will, it is hoped, receive elucidation; and a series of pre-Constantinian inscriptions, such as cannot be matched in any other country, will be arranged so as to throw light on the relations between the Christians and their non-Christian fellow-citizens. The plan of the book makes it impossible to introduce this subject formally earlier than Ch. XII; but incidentally most of the chapters touch upon it.

It is not intended to discuss exhaustively each topic as it comes up, but only to bring together what can be learned about each district and city. For example, the deities Cybele and Men will come up in almost every chapter, as new facts emerge in connexion with their worship, but those who wish to read a full account of the religion of Cybele must go elsewhere. In Ch. II it is intended to give a brief *résumé* of the constitution of a Graeco-Phrygian city, chiefly for the purpose of bringing out the questions that must be kept clear before the reader's mind; but those who desire a full analysis of the nature and powers of a *strategos* or an *agoranomos* must not expect them there. In the chapter on Apameia, much has to be said about the *gymnasiarches*, in the chapter on Akmonia about the *agoranomos*, and so on, as facts are revealed by the documents in each city.

Naturally, most of the possible ideas about Phrygian topography have come before me in the years when I have been pondering with the one desire to find out the truth; and some of my critics will, I hope, take into consideration that the first idea which suggests itself to them as they look over the subject has probably also suggested itself to me<sup>1</sup>. We cannot spend all our life in writing or reading about Phrygia; and I have been studious to waste as little time as possible, and to put what has to be said as briefly as is consistent with clearness—sometimes perhaps too briefly for clearness. Most of the following chapters might be expanded each to a volume, if every point were argued out from all sides; but many arguments have been omitted in the desire to say no more than was necessary. Topographical views, therefore, as a rule, are merely stated with the

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<sup>1</sup> If I reject their idea, I trust they will not say of me '*Ramsay, avec cette impétuosité de malveillance aveugle et bourrue qui le pousse à dénigrer les gens*

*sans les comprendre*'—a description of my way of finding out the truth about Phrygia which is so amusing that I must quote it.



one most striking reason for each, where a dozen might be given. In one case, however, where M. Radet made a suggestion about Baris that was quite new to me, I have spent time and taxed the reader's patience in working out in an appendix the problem of 'Pisidian Phrygia.' His suggestion pleased me much, both as promising a justification of Pliny's accuracy, where I find it necessary to alter the text, and as boldly questioning one of those settled opinions which have often been stumbling-blocks; but, though at first I seized this novel suggestion eagerly, I was not able to work it into a consistent scheme of topography.

The obligations which are acknowledged in my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* pp. 4 f, 96 f, and elsewhere, may all be taken as repeated here. They are too many and various and great to be adequately recorded: I have utilized everybody I knew in numberless ways and to such an extent that I cannot thank them individually, for to do so in full would take the longest chapter of this book. Two works which I had hoped to use still remain unpublished, M. Waddington's *Coinage of Asia Minor* and M. Imhoof-Blumer's *Numismatic Study of the country*. M. Imhoof-Blumer has communicated to me in his letters many useful details, chiefly Lydian. The lamented death of M. Waddington has deprived me of much expected advice and criticism. Mr. Head and Mr. Wroth have been an unfailing help in numismatic matters, and Mr. Head's *Historia Numorum* is an ever-present friend. Prof. Th. Mommsen has often interrupted his own work to answer my questions. Conversations with Prof. Pelham have left their mark on Ch. II § 12 f. But naturally my greatest obligations are due to those who have travelled with me for the Asia Minor Exploration Fund, Professor Sterrett in 1883 (who also explored independently with great success in 1884 and 1885), Mr. A. H. Smith in 1884, Mr. H. A. Brown in 1886 and 1887 (who has since perished in South Africa as one of Major Wilson's ill-fated party), Mr. Hogarth in 1887, 1890, 1891, Mr. Headlam in 1890, Mr. Munro in 1891. Much as I owe to them, however, my best finds were made when my wife's eyes aided me in 1881, 1884, 1888, 1891. Next to their help must be reckoned the explorations of the French School of Athens: the many references to BCH in the following pages attest its work. The plan of Laodiceia is due to the skilful hand of my friend Mr. G. Weber of Smyrna, whose name often occurs in this book.

I have tried, both in this work and in my *Historical Geography*, to



acknowledge explicitly everything which I have learned from any recent writer<sup>1</sup>; and if there be any case, in which I have omitted formal acknowledgment, the omission is unintentional and is deeply regretted by me. I do not know of any serious omission in my *Historical Geography*<sup>2</sup>. Prof. G. Hirschfeld<sup>3</sup>, indeed, charges me with having persistently used without the slightest acknowledgment<sup>4</sup> the works of many living scholars, such as M. Imhoof-Blumer and himself. If he could substantiate one-tenth part of what he accuses me of, I should feel myself unworthy to shake hands with any scholar, till I had publicly apologized. But Prof. G. Hirschfeld trusted to the prevailing general ignorance as to the facts of research in Asia; his examples will not bear investigation, and I shall be glad to meet him and prove my statement before a jury of scholars, German or international; but I make no other reply to him, except that, as to his charge that I have made no acknowledgment of his work, I have quoted it in laudatory terms in that work pp. 20, 84, 92, 99, 137, 168, 172, 318, 335, 400, 402, 404, 406 (twice in agreement), 408, 411, 414, 416, 436, besides the general acknowledgment on p. 96-7 (ranking him with M. Waddington as one of my two chief models<sup>5</sup>).

Every traveller will appreciate how much I owe to Prof. H. Kiepert's maps; but few realize as I do both the priceless value of his work, and the need for still further improvement in his maps, for I think that no traveller in the country except himself has spent one quarter of the time that I have spent on making maps of Asia Minor. Yet from more than 2000 hours of work<sup>6</sup> (a large slice of one's life) nothing has come—I will however blame no one, but only say that the critic who appreciates the inadequacy of the maps attached to my books touches the worst disappointment of my whole work on Asia Minor. A map should be an illustration of a book; it cannot be done well

<sup>1</sup> Aporidos-kome, Ch. IX p. 323, was identified by Prof. G. Hirschfeld. The acknowledgment, often made by me (e.g. *Hist. Geogr.* p. 20, &c.), has been unintentionally omitted there.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Buresch in his recent article (*Athen. Mittheil.* 1894) points out that a view stated in my book (1890) was published by him in 1889. But my corresponding chapter was printed in 1889 (as is stated in the preface p. 11); and I did not see his excellent pamphlet till

my book was published.

<sup>3</sup> *Petermann's Mittheilungen* 1892, *Literaturbericht* p. 154; *Berliner Philolog. Wochenschrift* 1891, nos. 42-44.

<sup>4</sup> Selbst nur eine vorübergehende Gemütsstimmung.

<sup>5</sup> My real crime lies in differing from Prof. Hirschfeld in most of the topographical questions that he has raised, which has made me often quote him in dissent.

<sup>6</sup> Especially Oct. 1884-May 1886.



unless the draftsman studies the subject and the book with the same care that an artist studies the book which he intends to illustrate. I envy Germany her Kiepert. Yet his maps have some serious defects. Admiral Spratt's map of Pisidia is like a picture of the country; I recognize in it what I actually saw. So is Lieut. von Diest's map of part of Phrygia. They travelled, saw, and drew what they saw. Kiepert unfortunately has not seen with his own eyes the countries in which I am most interested. All that could be done with his materials has been done by him; but his maps of these countries, though marvellous efforts at reconstructing an unseen land, do not give its true shape, and there are some serious errors in details<sup>1</sup>.

On my debt to Sir Charles Wilson before the Exploration Fund existed, see *Hist. Geogr.* p. 5. His *Handbook for Asia Minor* (Murray), now nearly ready, will be an excellent and trustworthy guide to the country. Some drawings made by Mr. A. C. Blunt in 1881 will appear in vols. II, III. The careful reading of the proofs by Mr. A. Souter, G. & C. College, Cambridge, has aided me much.

Some writers and travellers of older generations, especially Hamilton, have not *as yet* received their due at my hands. Sometimes I might have quoted from them a statement made on more recent authority; oftener I might have learned from them a useful addition or correction. It is one of my dreams to write the history of exploration in Asia Minor; but one cannot do all one would like, and my position makes Asia Minor a *parergon*, before which official work must always come.

I hope that some Cambridge man will vindicate the credit of an old Cambridge scholar, J. Jebb, who is quoted by Le Quien as the authority for an inscription, which (I much fear) has the look of a forgery (see p. 79). Can it be genuine? or how did it come into Jebb's hands?

The bad spelling of the Phrygian Greek is retained in all inscriptions. *Iota subscript* is, however, added, where it is customary in modern spelling: where the inscriptions have *iota adscript*, it is

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<sup>1</sup> I regret much that, in a footnote to the text of *Asia Provincia* in his *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, he has quoted a sharp criticism on an article by two French scholars contained in a heedless sentence of my *Historical Geography*. I tender to MM. Cousin and Deschamps my

heartly apology for ever having penned that sentence, which becomes trebly hateful when quoted in this way apart from its context, and placed before the thousands who will use Kiepert's atlas instead of the few who read my *Hist. Geogr.*



adscribed in my text. The originals were often seen by some of my companions (p. xvii); but, as in many cases I had not notes to record how many pairs of eyes co-operated, it seemed better not to give imperfect statistics. Even where these inscriptions have been published by others, it will be observed on comparison that the present text almost always differs, sometimes very much; and, unless doubt is expressed, it may be understood that the new form is given unhesitatingly as an improvement.

The spelling of geographical names is arranged with a certain plan, namely by transliteration of the Greek form, except in a few familiar words, and except that *c* is often used for *k*, where the name is commonly quoted in modern books with *c*. In personal names the attempt to follow any system was abandoned in despair.

I have to thank the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for their generosity in undertaking to publish this book.

To keep down expense, I arranged to have the book set up in pages from the MS.; and the correction of proofs was therefore restricted to verbal alterations, which did not interfere with the lines. Any additional fact had to be relegated to the *addenda*; but it is more useful to scholars to give the facts in this way than not to give them at all. A reference is given in the text to each *addendum*.

The MS. was sent to the printer Sept. 2, 1894; the printing was finished Dec. 14; the corrected sheets were returned from Dec. 26 onwards; the revised sheets were sent out 16 Jan.—11 Feb. 1895; the last of them was returned Feb. 19; and a second revise of the final sheet was sent out Feb. 23 and returned Feb. 25<sup>1</sup>.

KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN:

March 1, 1895.

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<sup>1</sup> The neglect of Asia Minor research is attested by Dr. Usener's paper *Uebersesehenes* in *Rh. Mus.* 1895 p. 144. He describes the *Acta S. Hypatii* (June 17) as a *ganz vernachlässigte Quelle*; but the

same passages from it which Dr. Usener quotes as unknown were used in JHS 1887 p. 473, *Expositor* Oct. 1888 p. 264, 1891 p. 342, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 189, *Ch. in R. Emp.* p. 463.



## ABBREVIATIONS

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(Most of the authors quoted are indicated clearly enough in the text.)

AA SS = *Acta Sanctorum*.

AE Mit. = *Archäologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*.

AHS = A. H. Smith *Notes on a Tour in Asia Minor* in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 1887 p. 220.

ASP = *Antiquities of Southern Phrygia* &c., W. M. Ramsay, in *American Journal of Archaeology* Vol. III 3, 4. (This paper is for the most part worked up in the present volume.)

Ath. Mitth. = *Mittheilungen des kais. d. archäolog. Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung*.

Berl. Abhandl. (Monatsb., Sitz.) = *Abhandlungen (Monatsberichte, Sitzungsberichte) of the Royal Academy of Berlin*.

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.

Br Mus or BM = *Ancient Greek Inscriptions of the British Museum*.

CB = *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, W. M. Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies* Vols. IV and VIII. (This paper is intended to be entirely worked up in this and succeeding volumes.)

CIG = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

Ch. in R. Emp. = *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, W. M. Ramsay.

Dig. = *Digesta Justiniani Augusti*, ed. Mommsen & Krüeger.

Foucart = *Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs*, P. Foucart.

Haase = Article *Phrygien* in Ersch & Gruber's *Encyclopaedie*.

Head = *Historia Numorum*, B. V. Head.

Hicks = Introduction to his edition of the Inscriptions of Ephesos (*Br. Mus.* III).

Hirschfeld = *Vorläufiger Reisebericht* in *Berl. Monatsb.* 1879 (the only published account of his journey in 1871).

Hist. Geogr. = *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, W. M. Ramsay, being Vol. IV of Supplementary Papers of the Royal Geographical Society.

Hogarth = in Ch. III his article in *Journal of Philology* XIX p. 69 f, in Ch. IV his article in *JHS* VIII p. 376 f.



Imhoof GM = *Griechische Münzen*, F. Imhoof-Blumer, in *Abhandlungen der Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (I Cl.) Vol. XVIII.

Imhoof MG = *Monnaies Grecques*, F. Imhoof-Blumer.

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

Inscr. refers to the numbered inscriptions quoted in the *Appendices* of this book.

Kaibel = *Inscriptiones Graecae, Siciliae et Italiae*, &c.

Kaibel *Ep. e Lapp.* = *Epigrammata Graeca e Lapidibus conlecta* 1878.

Kiepert refers sometimes to his appendix to Franz *Fünf Inschriften und fünf Städte Kleinasiens*, sometimes to his maps (especially the latest large scale map of Western Asia Minor).

Le Quien = *Oriens Christianus* Vol. I.

LW = same as Wadd. (see below).

Mae = Maeander (Magnesia Mae = ad Maeandrum).

Marquardt = *Römische Staatsverwaltung* Vol. I *Organisation des Reichs*, J. Marquardt,  
Ed. II.

Menadier = *Qua condicione Ephesii usi sint inde ab Asia in formam provinciae redacta,*  
Julius Menadier.

Mous. Sm. = Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγ. Σχολῆς τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ.

No. refers to the numbered inscriptions quoted in the *Appendices* of this book.

Petersen = text in Count Lanckoronski's *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*.

Phil.=*Philologus*.

Rh. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*.

Smith, see AHS.

Sterrett EJ = *An Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor*,  
 Sterrett WE = *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*,  
 } being Vols. II III of *Studies of the American School at Athens* (J. R. S. Sterrett).

Str. = Strabo (rare, usually Strab.).

Tomaschek = *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (Sitzungsberichte d. Akademie d. Wissensch. in Wien 1891).

Wadd. = Le Bas *Voyage Archéologique en Asie Mineure* (the inscriptions from 31 onwards were edited by M. Waddington).

All inscriptions which have been transcribed by the writer from the original stone are indicated by '(R. date),' coming immediately after the number.



THE LYCOS VALLEY  
AND  
SOUTH-WESTERN PHRYGIA















## ERRATA.

References should be added in the text to *Addenda* 37, 38.

Page 36, l. 21, *for* 14 *read* 11.

Page 68, note 3, *for* Ch. VIII *App. read* pp. 212, 281, 307 f.

Page 111, note 3, ll. 11-3, and page 212, note 2, delete the statement about Ephebarch and refer to Vol. II Ch. XI.

Page 183, no. 71, l. 2, *read* [Λογ].

Page 190, no. 73, assign to Antiocheia Mae., see Sterrett *E. J.* no. 5.

Page 247, l. 7 from foot, *read* IV p. 312 (VI p. 515 Kühn).

Page 350, add. 28, l. 2, *for* 285 *read* 286.







# THE LOCAL HISTORY OF PHRYGIA

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## CHAPTER I

### THE LYCOS VALLEY

§ 1. The Gate of Phrygia p. 1.    § 2. Scenery of the Lycos Valley p. 3.    § 3. The Two Valleys p. 4.    § 4. Ethnology p. 6.    § 5. Primitive History and Religion p. 7.    § 6. Greek Influence and Colonies p. 9.    § 7. The Roman and Byzantine Periods p. 11.    § 8. The Turkish Conquest 1071-1118 p. 15.    § 9. The Turkish Conquest 1118-1178 p. 18.    § 10. The Turkish Conquest 1178-1210 p. 22.    § 11. The Turkish Conquest 1210-1306 p. 24.    § 12. The Triumph of Mohammedanism p. 25.    § 13. Modern and Ancient Anatolia p. 28.

§ 1. THE GATE OF PHRYGIA. The traveller who ascends the broad and fertile Maeander valley<sup>1</sup> observes that, as he advances, the valley gradually becomes narrower, until he comes opposite Antioch, at the mouth of a glen through which the Dandalo-Tchai<sup>2</sup> (ancient Morsynos) flows from the south to join the larger river. Here the Tchibuk-Dagh, a range of hills bounding the Dandalo valley on the east, projects far up towards the north until it leaves a pass, hardly a mile broad<sup>3</sup>, for the Maeander to traverse. Entering this pass we cross the frontier of Phrygia, as it was reckoned in the Byzantine period, though in older

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<sup>1</sup> The road and the railway follow the north bank almost up to the Lycos junction. The traveller now uses the railway, and receives a far less vivid impression than we did as we rode up in October 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Called Kara-Su by Kiepert. Kara-Su is a town on one of its western affluents, and also a governmental dis-

trict (*mudurluk*). Geira (Aphrodisias) is on this river near its source, p. 186 n.

<sup>3</sup> It appears narrower by contrast with the western valley; and the eye is apt to be deceived in the clear atmosphere. The maps make it fully two miles wide, but I think this can hardly be correct.



time the frontier was not so certain and was commonly placed further away from the coast. This pass was the open gate of Phrygia, through which Greek letters and Roman officers entered the country and the products of the country were carried away to the coast.

The scene before the traveller as he traverses the pass is a suitable introduction to that Phrygian land, which always seemed to the Greek mind something strange and unique. Close on the left rises the ridge of Messogis, which bounds the Maeander valley on the north, stretching from the central plateau of Anatolia far out into the Aegean sea at Mykale. On the right the long thin ridge of the Tchibuk-Dagh extends far back to the south-east till it merges into the huge mass of Baba-Dagh (Salbakos). In front of Salbakos, which runs east and west, shutting in the view with its wall of rock 7,600 feet high<sup>1</sup>, a disturbed, irregular wilderness of alluvial hills, intersected by deep winding cañons, breaks the transition from the perpendicular mass of the mountains to the low flat valley of the Maeander. After the end of the Tchibuk-Dagh is passed, the valley widens a little, as the alluvial hills sink into the valley a mile or more south of the river. Numerous hot springs emerge from the soil on both sides of the river and in its very channel. On the north side, at Kizil-Dere, a glen of M. Messogis, the hot vapour and water burst forth hissing and roaring, the ground is warm beneath the feet, and, as one walks, sudden spurts of hot steam rush up under one's step. The upper springs at Kizil-Dere are boiling hot, and break forth with a noise like that of an engine blowing off steam. Further down they are not so hot; but even the lowest have a temperature above 100° F.<sup>2</sup>

In the pass there is a ruined old bridge which stretches out from the north bank; it was perhaps built in the early Seljuk period to take the place of the Roman bridge which had once spanned the river further down. Near it, on the south bank, Chandler mentions phenomena similar to those of Kizil-Dere; but the chief group of hot springs was a little further east, about a mile N.E. from Tekke-Keui. Here

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<sup>1</sup> The highest point, Kar-ji (Snow Peak), is 8,166 feet, and Beshik Kaya 7,929 feet above sea-level. The heights of these and other peaks are reckoned by vertical angles on calculated distances from the railway as base (by Mr. S. Watkins), and may be relied on within  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. error either way. They have been kindly sent me by Mr. Purser, manager of the Ottoman Railway, to whom I am indebted for much

help, in ways too numerous to mention, throughout the fourteen years since I began this study.

<sup>2</sup> The ruined buildings at Kizil-Dere seem all Turkish. We saw nothing of an earlier date. The oldest had been overwhelmed by a land-slip, and only the top was visible above the soil in 1884. No doubt Greek or Roman remains have been buried in this way.



there are, as Pococke says, 'several sources rising on the south side of the river and in the very bed of it<sup>1</sup>.' This was the site of the ancient Karoura. On the west side of Tekke-Keui, and close under the alluvial hills, are several other hot springs, Kirkaz-Hammam (a small lake of hot liquid mud, bluish in colour), Inn-Hammam, and Kab-Agatch-Hammam<sup>2</sup>. See p. 162 f.

On the alluvial hills to the south, which contain stretches of rich land, were situated several ancient cities, Kidramos, Attouda, Trapezopolis; and a number of villages, some of large size, like Kadi-Keui, (which is a *mudurlik*, and a manufacturing centre) are scattered over it. This country is distinguished and separated from the level Maeander valley by its natural character; and travellers have often gone up and down the valley without observing this other country with its population. The water-courses which rush down from Salbakos have cut for themselves deep cañons with precipitous sides in the soft alluvial hills; and these make travelling very difficult and tedious; hence the country has remained almost unknown to modern travellers. See p. 159 f.

§ 2. SCENERY OF THE LYCOS VALLEY. On the north bank a spur of Messogis narrows the valley for a distance of eight or nine miles, leaving scanty space between the river and the hills. As the traveller goes on to the east and comes opposite to Serai-Keui, which lies a mile south of the Maeander, the spur ends, and he finds himself in the open Lycos valley<sup>3</sup>, with a striking prospect before him. The valley is roughly triangular in form<sup>4</sup>. It is bounded on the north-east side by a ridge, which for want of a recognized name we term the mountains of Mossyna<sup>5</sup>. In front of them is a terrace rising some hundreds of feet above the level plain; and about the middle of the terrace the white rocks of 'Cotton-Castle,' Pambuk-Kalessi, the ancient Hierapolis, stand out gleaming in the sunshine. On the south, the lofty ridge of Salbakos, and the still loftier mass of Cadmos (Khonas-

<sup>1</sup> These springs in the river are indicated also in the Ottoman Railway Survey. Pococke goes on to say that 'opposite [i. e. north of the river] on the side of the hill is another hot-water spring, from which a smoke or steam arises as from the others; the hills are of a red colour.' He obviously means the 'Red-Glen,' Kizil-Dere. Chandler's description of phenomena like those of Kizil-Dere refers to the springs of Karoura, though he puts his springs

close to the broken bridge.

<sup>2</sup> Kab-Agatch is a village two miles W.N.W. from Tekke-Keui, close under the southern hills.

<sup>3</sup> He stands on the road about 550 feet above sea-level.

<sup>4</sup> The recent journey of Kubitschek and Reichel will probably add much to our knowledge.

<sup>5</sup> The highest part is a broad flat hill called Kotchelek- or Tchukalek-Dagh, 5,871 feet.



Dagh, 8,013 feet), separated from each other by the narrow cleft, hardly apparent at this distance, through which the little river Cadmos worms its way, form the second side of the triangle. Gently undulating alluvial hills slope back from the front valley towards the southern mountains; and are in marked contrast with the loftier and more irregular hills of Attouda and Trapezopolis.

On the outer edge of the hills, right opposite Hierapolis, are the ruins of Laodiceia. A single sharp conical peak, Sivri-Dagh, 3,316 feet, looking very small beside the huge mass of Cadmos, stands at the apex where the two sides of the triangular valley meet. The Lycos comes down from behind Sivri-Dagh<sup>1</sup>, and turns round it, and drawing its water from various large sources in front of Sivri-Dagh, flows at first towards the west as far as Colossai, and then north-west between Hierapolis and Laodiceia. The Maeander comes into this valley from the north, near the N.W. apex of the triangle, breaking its way in a narrow deep gorge, full of the most romantic and striking scenery, through the very heart of the Mossyna mountains, and flowing close around the spur of Messogis that lies on the traveller's left. Then, joined by the Lycos, it runs away westwards to the Aegean sea. On the front edge of the terrace, overhanging its western bank as it issues from the Mossyna mountains, stands the city of Tripolis; and one of the finest views over the valley as a whole is to be got from the upper seats of its theatre.

§ 3. THE TWO VALLEYS. The best way of getting an idea of the character of the Lycos valley is to go up the road that leads across the Mossyna mountains towards the north, and from their summit look back across the valley. The mass of Asia Minor is a plateau, 3,000 to 5,000 feet above sea-level; around the plateau there is a fringe of low-lying coast-land, consisting chiefly of river-valleys separated by mountain-chains that are merely prolongations or spurs of the plateau<sup>2</sup>. The Lycos valley is a deep hole, extending up from the coast-valley of the Maeander into the flank of the plateau, and sloping upwards as it penetrates to the east. It forms two shelves, the lower and outer of which alone is fully visible from the point which the traveller reached in § 2; while the upper lies above and behind it, having the form of a small glen among the mountains. This glen

<sup>1</sup> The branch from behind Sivri-Dagh flows only after rain; it is dry throughout great part of the year. The pass down which it comes is called by Nicetas Graos Gala. The entire stream of the Lycos rises in the *Katabothra* (dudens)

at the eastern end of the Colossian valley.

<sup>2</sup> Messogis and Tmolos are spurs of this kind, projecting like toes from the plateau, which may be compared to the human foot.



is the territory of Colossai, while the lower valley contains Laodiceia and Hierapolis, and is practically continuous with the Maeander valley.

The step between these two shelves is formed by the meeting of the terrace in front of the Mossyna mountains with the alluvial hills in front of Cadmos. The terrace, which is comparatively narrow at Hierapolis, broadens towards the east, and takes the form of alluvial hills quite similar to those on the south side of the valley. At its western end, the lower valley is about 550 feet above sea-level; the general direction of the upper valley is N.W. to S.E.; and the step at its eastern apex rises sharply from the level of 800 to that of 1,200 feet. The upper or Colossian glen runs nearly due east, sloping back from the level of 1,200 feet to that of 1,750. At the eastern end there is a second step, where the road rises in a uniform and easy but rapid slope to 2,600 feet, which is the level of the plain of Anava, one of the lowest depressions of the great central plateau.

The Lycos valley, from its sloping character, offers by far the easiest approach from the sea-coast to the central plateau that is found at any point round the whole coast of Asia Minor; and the main artery of communication across the country during the Greek and Roman periods passed through it. The history of the country for five centuries centres along this road; and the Lycos valley during that period was of commanding importance. We shall have frequent occasion to refer to this great artery of communication as the 'Eastern Highway'<sup>1</sup>.

The upper or Colossian glen is separated from the lower Lycos valley by a low hill-ridge a mile or more in breadth. The Lycos flows through it in a narrow gorge, with perpendicular, rocky sides; and Colossai was built on the eastern point of the ridge, overhanging the river on the south. The remarkable features of the situation, described on hearsay and not with perfect accuracy by Herodotus, gave rise to a legend, which will be discussed in Ch. VI.

The Mossyna mountains are in reality only the outer edge of the great central plateau, which is bordered by a rim of mountains (so that it might be roughly compared to a billiard-table); and M. Messogis is practically a prolongation of that mountain rim. The spur of Messogis which we have alluded to as narrowing the Maeander valley immediately above the pass where we first entered Phrygian territory, is divided from the rim of the plateau by a small valley, which slopes rapidly back from the Maeander. This valley, which is geographically a continuation of the Lycos valley, contained two

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<sup>1</sup> On its history, see *Hist. Geogr.* Ch. I-IV.



ancient cities, Tripolis overhanging the Maeander, and Apollonos-Hieron at the western extremity. It is one of the many unexpected features of the Roman provincial arrangement that this little valley should have been disconnected from the Lycos valley in general, and reckoned a part of Lydia; but we shall find a partial explanation of this in a real difference of race and blood.

§ 4. ETHNOLOGY. Evidence, scanty yet sufficient, shows us the condition of this valley or group of glens at a comparatively early period. It was divided among three peoples, each looking to a different sanctuary or *hieron* as the centre of its religion and its government. In the glen of the upper Lycos was the city of Colossai, with its sanctuary beside the remarkable cleft in the hill-ridge, through which the waters escape to the lower valley. This people seems at all times to have been esteemed Phrygian.

On the south bank of the Lycos and of the Maeander was the country of a Carian people, who looked for guidance to their national god Men Karou, beside the abundant and varied hot springs of Karoura, which were the signs of his power in nature. Their territory was so extensive and so fertile that, in the development of history and civilization, it was divided among various sections and various cities, partly native, partly founded and supplied with a foreign population by foreign rulers; these cities were Laodiceia<sup>1</sup>, Trapezopolis, Attouda and Kidramos.

On the north bank of the Lycos and Maeander was situated a third people, the Hydreleitai or Kydrareitai. Assuming here the identity of these two names<sup>2</sup>, we find the tribe occupying the entire country from the borders of Colossian territory (at the lower edge of the ridge that divides the upper and lower Lycos glens) up to and even across the Maeander and opposite Attouda. This people is sometimes ranked as Lydian, sometimes as Carian<sup>3</sup>, and its religious institutions, while strongly resembling those of the Phrygians of Colossai and the Carians

<sup>1</sup> Laodiceia was reckoned to Caria as late as the second century after Christ by some authorities, e. g. Ptolemy and Philostratus. The Roman demarcation between the *conventus* of Alabanda and the *conventus* of Cibyra and Laodiceia was in part the cause why Laodiceia came to be reckoned to Phrygia. Strabo is confused as to border of Caria and Phrygia. On p. 578 he makes Karoura the frontier, and yet on p. 576 he reckons even Aphrodisias to Phrygia.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. V § 9, cp. pp. 37, 52, 85, 168.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo is quite clear on this point. He unhesitatingly ranks Hierapolis (i. e. *Κυδραρειτῶν ἡ ἱερὰ πόλις*) as Lydian p. 629; hence he does not mention it in his description of Phrygia, but of Lydia. Ptolemy, on the other hand, makes Tripolis Carian, but Hierapolis Phrygian. Ptolemy always gives a mixture of authorities, and has to be estimated with proper caution. Livy also makes Hydrela Carian.



of Karoura, acquired a certain difference of external aspect from the difference of tribal character. While the god of the other two tribes seemed more to resemble the Greek Zeus, king of gods and men, and the great goddess associated with him tends to disappear (at least in the public and exoteric cultus<sup>1</sup>) into the background, the god of the Kydrareitai seemed to resemble the Greek Apollo, great and powerful but not supreme, essentially felt always as 'the Son,' and alongside of him is almost always present 'the Mother-goddess,' identified with the Greek Leto.

§ 5. PRIMITIVE HISTORY AND RELIGION. We shall probably not be wrong in connecting this difference of development in a religion which appears to have been fundamentally the same in ritual, with the difference of national or tribal character. The Phrygians and the Carians tended more to the *patriarchal* type of social institutions, while the Lydians retained more of the *matriarchal* type, which seems to have been native to Asia Minor<sup>2</sup>. Now the Phrygians, as is now coming to be generally acknowledged, were a warrior tribe of conquerors who crossed the Hellespont from Europe, and penetrated gradually into Asia Minor<sup>3</sup>. Lydia was so strong under the sway of its Heracleid kings, closely allied with the ancient Anatolian empire that had its centre at Pteria, as to resist and turn further eastward the stream of conquest. In the minds of the victorious invaders from Europe, whatever was their primitive condition, the tendency to emphasize the importance of the male in the social system was necessarily strengthened by their new position. They were a conquering caste amid a subject population of alien race. As immigrants and conquerors, they naturally brought with them few women of their own race; for migrations of this kind were due to the swarming away of the surplus population, and mainly of the surplus males (the surplus of females being probably kept down by infanticide). This conquering and ruling caste formed an aristocracy among the primitive population of Phrygia; but, as is always done in similar cases, it took wives from the subject caste and the older inhabitants. In this way the position of the male element in the population of Phrygia was sure to become higher than among the Lydians, who maintained the older social system in its unmixed form.

The immigrant Europeans were mail-clad warriors, sprung of a race that had been accustomed to use metal for defensive purposes; and

<sup>1</sup> The character of this religion is more fully discussed in Ch. III, IV, VIII, IX.

<sup>2</sup> On this point see Ch. III § 6.

<sup>3</sup> See *Study of Phrygian Art* in JHS 1888 p. 365 f.



their armour gave them great advantage over opponents armed in the slighter Oriental fashion. They came in this way to exercise enormous influence over the development and government of the whole of the west of Asia Minor. They were strongest in Phrygia and Caria. Greek tradition attributed various improvements in the style of defensive armour to the Carians<sup>1</sup>; and one of the oldest reliefs found in Phrygia shows two Phrygian warriors armed quite in the Carian style<sup>2</sup>. But their influence was not confined to Phrygia and Caria. Such warriors were likely to exercise some influence also on the development of Lydia and Lycia: and the Mermnad dynasty, which overthrew the Heracleids in Lydia, was in close alliance with Phrygia, and not improbably connected by blood with it<sup>3</sup>. Thus from the dawn of history to the present day the development of Asia Minor turns on the conflict between the European and the Oriental spirit in it. The resulting mixed races and civilizations of Phrygians, Carians, and Lydians varied in character according to the varying strength of the native and the foreign element in each; and moreover difference of natural surroundings caused varying degrees of divergence from the original type. But the original peoples were probably similar in character to each other, and the conquering tribes were of the European stock<sup>4</sup>; hence arose the marked similarity of character, combined with superficial difference, in the peoples and religions of the three countries. The Lydians were marked by greater softness and effeminacy of nature, greater turn for trade and dexterity in commercial devices, impressionability, adaptability, liking for amusement and pleasure. It may indeed be true, as M. Radet thinks, that the Lydians were a mixed race of Thracian and Oriental elements; but, if so, the European strain in them belongs to an earlier immigration than the Phrygian, and they had already acquired the nature

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<sup>1</sup> Handles for grasping shields (ῥχανα), crests of helmets (λόφοι), and (ἐπίσημα) on shields, were invented by the Carians according to Herod. I 171 and Strab. p. 661. The Scholiast on Thucydides i. 8 mentions bosses of shields (ὀμφαλοί) in place of ῥχανα, probably by a mere slip.

<sup>2</sup> The relief is published in *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1888 p. 363. It belongs probably to the eighth century B.C.; and there are both ῥχανα and λόφοι: these developments had been common to the two branches of the race.

<sup>3</sup> M. Radet in his masterly work, *Lydie et le Monde Grec* p. 82, considers the change of dynasty to be a mere change from one branch to another of the same family. Such is the tradition; but there was naturally a strong tendency to invent legitimacy for a new and usurping dynasty. The change of dynasty was accompanied by a complete change of policy in the government.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly the Bithynians and the Mysians belonged to a European immigration (Thraco-Illyrian) later than the Phrygian.



which the Phrygians acquired some centuries later<sup>1</sup>, and which seems natural to Asia Minor.

The Carians and Phrygians, though they began as warriors and conquerors, in the lapse of time settled down into the general type of the Anatolian peoples. The warrior element was gradually eliminated from their character, as the native strain overpowered the blood of the immigrant stock. There remained always the tradition of the Phrygian kings and chiefs, wars, 'and fights fought long ago' on the banks of the Sangarios, where the fighting men from the west overpowered the Amazons of the old native religion<sup>2</sup>; but it was only a dim remembrance of a half-mythical past, and, in the historical period, the name 'Phryx' was equivalent to 'slave.'

While history preserved only the faint tradition, religion retained a truer image of the past. The western warriors adopted the religion and the gods of the land where they settled, for the gods of their new country must be propitiated and won over to their side<sup>3</sup>. But they impressed something of their own character on the national religion. They attached more importance to the male element in the divine nature, and the female element was kept more in the background. Hence the Father-God Papas, the Thundering God Bronton, the Charioteer Benneus, and various other male forms, are more prominent in the Phrygian and Carian religion; while in the Lydian religion more stress is laid on the Mother-Goddess, and the God appears more markedly as her Son. The fundamental identity of these varying types of religion, in which the Mother and Daughter on the one hand, the Father and Son on the other, are contemplated as the two aspects of the ultimate divine nature, the prototype and representative of human nature, will appear as we study the religion of each of the cities. In the Lycos valley, we have all three races united in the Lydian Hierapolis, the Phrygian Colossai, and the Carian Attouda and Trapezopolis, while Laodiceia and Tripolis are the Graeco-Roman cities, founded and maintained by a later incursion of the western spirit into this debatable ground between Oriental and European races.

§ 6. GREEK INFLUENCE AND COLONIES. The conquest of Phrygia by Alyattes was the triumph of the native element over the immigrant western influence. For several centuries the Oriental spirit reigned supreme in Phrygia, till in 336 Alexander the Great led Greek civiliza-

<sup>1</sup> The Lydian character is admirably summed up by M. Radet *Lydie* &c. p. 260 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad* III 185, cp. Philostr. *Her.* 20, 41.

<sup>3</sup> Compare II *Kings* XVII 26.



tion to conquer Asia. Then for a time Greek kings ruled in a loose way over the country, but had not a firm enough hold on it to exercise much influence on the people. But they founded cities, which might serve at once as fortresses, as nests of an immigrant population devoted to their founders, and as centres of the foreign Greek civilization and society in the country. First the Seleucid kings founded Seleucid colonies at suitable points over Lydia and Phrygia<sup>1</sup>, then their successors the Pergamenian kings made other foundations to counteract the influence at once of the native and the Seleucid towns. The older class of colonies were generally either peopled by Macedonians or by Syrians, while the Pergamenian are of a more mixed and generally less determinable type. Some were apparently settlements of Mysian or Paphlagonian or Thracian mercenaries in the pay of the Pergamenian kings; the people of Eumeneia style themselves 'Achaean' on their coins; but in many cases we have no clue to the character of the colonists.

In the Lycos valley we have a Seleucid colony Laodiceia, and a Pergamenian colony styled originally Apollonia and afterwards Tripolis.

The territory assigned to these new settlements was taken from the former owners. Who were the older owners? To a considerable extent the priests of the great religious centres—*hiera*—were the directors of government and lords of much of the soil lying round each centre; and in general, where any evidence can be obtained, it is to the effect that great part of the territorial property of the *hiera* was seized by the kings; and that the latter, when they planted colonies, assigned to them part of the territory thus acquired. Other parts of the enormous territory which they seized remained crown-land, and passed into the possession of the successive dynasties and governments that ruled the country. Thus we find cases where the history of estates owned by Roman or Byzantine emperors can be traced back to pre-Greek times when they were temple-property; and we must infer that they had been owned by one dynasty after another since they were taken by the new civil government from the old religious government. In countries, then, where few colonies were founded, the amount of land owned by the Roman emperors must have been enormous, if the view we have just stated is correct. Now in Cappadocia there were fewer colonies than in any other part of Asia Minor; and in Cappadocia we find that more than half of the

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<sup>1</sup> Some few Greek colonies are older even than Seleucid times: such are Synnada and Dokimion.



country was state-property<sup>1</sup> in the sixth century of our era (Justinian *Nov.* XLIV ed. Lingenthal I p. 263). See pp. 103, 131, 256 f.

Where we can trace the existence of an old *hieron*, there we often find some trace of a royal or a Roman imperial estate. Many examples will occur as we go through the cities of Phrygia<sup>2</sup>. Ch. IX §§ 3, 5.

§ 7. THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS. The Lycos valley and its cities acquired far more importance under Roman administration than they had under the Greek kings. The 'Eastern Highway' was a thoroughfare which might rank among the most important in the whole empire<sup>3</sup>, and this valley was one of the four most important points on the Highway, along with Ephesos, Apameia, and Caesareia-Mazaka. Especially in the diffusion of Christianity the Lycos valley played a prominent part. It is pointed out in *The Church in the Roman Empire* pp. 9, 365 f, how much the development of the Church was determined by the close inter-relation that was maintained

<sup>1</sup> This land probably belonged originally to the numerous and wealthy *hiera*, and had been seized by the Greek kings. Zeus of Venasa, e.g., had originally an annual income of £4,000 (15 talents) from land alone (*Church in the Roman Empire* p. 457). Men Pharnakou had an estate at his holy village Ameria in Pontus; the estate was enjoyed by the reigning priest (ἔχει τὸ ἱερόν Μηνὸς Φαρνάκου καλούμενον τὴν Ἀμερίαν κωμόπολιν, πολλοὺς ἱεροδούλους ἔχουσιν καὶ χώραν ἱερὰν ἣν ὁ ἱερώμενος αἰεὶ καρποῦται Strab. p. 557). The rule was general that the high-priest was master of all the god's property; e.g. at Pisidian Antioch ἦν καὶ ἱερωσύνη τις Μηνὸς Ἀσκαينوῦ [so Waddington and others for Ἀρκαίου], πλῆθος ἔχουσα ἱεροδούλων καὶ χωρίων ἱερῶν Strab. p. 577. See the following note.

<sup>2</sup> I will add one from Cilicia Tracheia, as typical of the guidance which may be got from slight details. In the northern part of Ketis there was a city called Koropissos, which seems to be the same as the Hierapolis of the Byzantine lists (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 366). The full title of the city was Κοροπισσέων τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν (cp. the legend of coins of Polemon ἀρχιερέως δυνάστου Ὀλβέων τῆς ἱερᾶς, where, as often, πόλεως is left unexpressed), and the name used in the

locality was simply ἡ ἱερὰ πόλις with Κοροπισσέων left unexpressed. Now an inscription of Terracina mentions a soldier's wife *nat(ione) Gnigissa ex civitate Coropisso vico Asseridi domini nostri*, whose husband being of the same imperial estate had been brought as a soldier in the fleet to Terracina CIL X 8261. According to the analogy which is suggested by a study of Phrygia, this estate of Asseris or Asseridis was originally part of the property of the *hieron*. The best attested example in Asia Minor is that of the god's estate at Tyana (*Hist. Geogr.* pp. 15, 348, and 449; also *Pre-Hellenic Art of Cappadocia* Part I in Maspero's *Recueil* XIV).

<sup>3</sup> One example of its importance for the organization of the Roman provinces may be added. While the pirates rendered the southern sea unsafe in the first century B.C., it was usual for the Governor of Cilicia to go to his province by way of Ephesos and the Eastern Highway. On that Highway he passed through the *conventus* of Cibyra (at Laodiceia), Apameia, Synnada, and Philomelion; and, as it was convenient for him to hold the courts as he passed, these four districts were disjoined temporarily from Asia and added to Cilicia. See *Addenda*.



between its separate parts. The Lycos valley was a centre of communication and a knot where many roads met and parted<sup>1</sup>; and both Laodiceia and at a later date also Hierapolis ranked as metropolitan sees, partly on account of their apostolic origin, partly from their social and religious importance.

The interest of history in this period centres in the transforming and unifying process which the imperial policy carried out in the east. The Greek civilization had hitherto failed to touch the Phrygian people; it was almost confined to its own special settlements, the garrison-cities of the kings. The Roman system was not opposed to the Greek; it took into itself the language and the manners of Greece, and impressed these far more thoroughly on the native Anatolian population than the Greek governments had been able to do. Little or no attempt was made to naturalize the Latin language; but Greek was encouraged. Latin was used for a time in Augustus's Pisidian colonies; but it soon died out in most of them. A feeble attempt was made to keep it up in official documents of the colonies, but the errors in the Latin legends even on coins show that it was only a curiosity, not a spoken tongue, in most of them.

There is no evidence to prove when Greek became the sole language of the Lycos valley; but the probability is that the native languages<sup>2</sup> died out completely in the reign of Augustus, if not earlier. Strabo's statement, p. 631, that Lydian was completely forgotten in Lydia, but still spoken at Cibyra, forms an approximate standard for the Lycos valley.

The main aim of Roman policy was to foster the feeling of unity and the sense of patriotism. It discouraged the old tribal and national divisions; but it made the serious error of arranging its political divisions, both provinces and subdivisions of provinces<sup>3</sup>, in defiance of the lines of national demarcation. For a time it partially succeeded in imposing these new divisions; the people of all the parts of the province Asia sometimes accepted the name Asians, those of the

<sup>1</sup> At Laodiceia the Eastern Highway meets four other roads: (1) N.W., the important road from Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelpheia, &c.; (2) S.E., continuous with the last is an equally important road from Pamphylia, Pisidia, Cibyra, &c.; (3) N.E., the road from Dorylaion, the Pentapolis, Eumeneia, and Lounda; (4) N., the road from Dionysopolis, Mossyna, and Motella (Ch. IV). Laodiceia was thus marked

out as an administrative centre; and it was the meeting-place of the Cibyratic *conventus* from an early time.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Phrygian, Lydian, and Carian were all once spoken in different parts of the valley, as we have seen.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo remarks on the arbitrary character of the *conventus* p. 629. The boundaries of both provinces Asia and Galatia were purely accidental in origin.



province Galatia the name Galatians. Especially this was absolutely necessary where the unity of the population of several parts of these two great provinces had to be expressed: no single name for the people of Mysia and Phrygia and Caria could be found except Asians, and no single name for inhabitants of Galatic Phrygia and Lycaonia and Pisidia and Paphlagonia and Pontus except Galatians.

But the differences of national character were too great to be set aside so completely as the unifying policy of the first century tried to do. They lasted, and survived the great composite provinces. Roman Asia existed for more than four centuries; but in the long run it produced no real effect on the popular feeling; and the moment that the common governmental unity ceased to exist, no trace survived of a political fact that had lasted for 420 years. But the ultimate failure of the policy must not blind us to its importance and to the earnestness and vigour with which it was carried out under the early empire. A religious system and hierarchy, the *koinon* of Asia, a system of games after the Roman type, and various social institutions, were directed to foster the sense of unity of the province Asia as a part of the imperial unity. But Asia was under the government of the senate, and the imperial policy was far more laxly carried out in Asia than in Galatia. The *koinon* of Phrygia was permitted to exist at Apameia<sup>1</sup> during the first century; and it is doubtful whether Apameia participated in the *koinon* of Asia at that time.

The Lycos valley has hardly any common history in the Roman or the early Byzantine period. Only in respect of the growth of Christianity can it be treated as a unity during that time; and all that can be discovered or conjectured bearing on that subject will be more usefully relegated to a special chapter.

The district continued to be a district of great importance in the development of Roman imperial history until the centre of government for the eastern half of the empire was shifted towards the east, first in an imperfect way to Nikomedeia by Diocletian, and finally to Constantinople by Constantine in 330 A.D. The whole system of roads in Asia Minor was thus changed; they radiated thereafter from Constantinople instead of being arranged for convenience of communication with Rome. After this time the Lycos valley was no longer on one of

<sup>1</sup> It is however possible that the *koinon* of Phrygia was a creation of a totally different class from the *koinon* of Asia; the coins which mention it always add the name of a *proconsul*; and Prof. Mommsen confirms the possi-

bility of an idea which occurred to me, that the former was a union of the Romans resident in the governmental district administered from Apameia (*conventus Civium Romanorum*).



the great roads of the empire ; and in the history of the next seven and a half centuries very few references to it occur.

On the state of education and literature in the valley, no special evidence remains ; we must estimate it by comparison with that of the province in general, presuming that it would occupy an intermediate position between the highly progressive cities of the west coast, such as Ephesos and Smyrna, and the less advanced parts of western Phrygia. One page of this chapter of its history will be found in Ch. II § 5. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries after Christ, there seems to have still existed in the valley an interest in old Greek literature. The great Paris MS. A of Plato was bought by Constantine, Metropolitan of Hierapolis<sup>1</sup>, which, as my informant Prof. L. Campbell says, probably implies that he flourished about A.D. 1000. He may perhaps rank in the class of which Eustathius of Thessalonica is the greatest, along with Theodorus Prodromus, Constantine Manasses, the two Tzetzes, &c. About 1240-1250 at Khonai, Michael Acominatus and his brother Nicetas were born ; and their life confirms our impression that educated interests still dwelt in the valley. They were indeed educated in Constantinople, but they went to it apparently as a centre of letters, when they were already educated to a certain degree and desired the highest attainable training. Nicetas went aged nine ; his brother was older.

In the seventh century after Christ the old provincial organization decayed, and an arrangement for military purposes, according to the standing armies which were maintained for purposes of defence, gradually came into existence. The country, which was most readily defended by any army, was governed in connexion with the military administration, and named according to the designation of the troops defending it. On this system the Lycos valley naturally forms part of the Thrakesian Theme<sup>2</sup>, which includes the coast valleys that open on the Aegean. In the valley there was a fortress of the characteristic Byzantine type, Khonai (Ch. VI), perched on a height far above the valley and the road ; and probably this fortress was taken as the military centre of the valley during this period in preference to Laodiceia, which was more exposed, and which depended for military strength on the maintenance of artificial fortifications, and on the

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<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that Prof. Campbell who has mentioned this fact to me is right in understanding that the Phrygian Hierapolis is meant (Ch. III App. II).

<sup>2</sup> The language of Constantine Porphyrogenitus *de Them. Anat.* would rather suggest that the valley was in the Anatolic Theme ; but see p. 83.



bravery, discipline, and vigilance of its garrison. No doubt many Arab raids swept over the valley during this period, but no record of them is preserved.

The district rose again to importance during the frontier wars between the Seljuk empire, whose capital was Iconium, and the decaying Byzantine empire. Iconium communicated with, or fought against, the relics of the Byzantine empire in the west and north-west of Asia Minor along two main roads, one leading through Dorylaion direct to Constantinople, the other leading through the Lycos valley to the Aegean sea. The Lycos valley was for a long time a debatable land between Turk and Greek, and for more than a century after 1071 we learn a good deal about it. Now, whereas the history of the Lycos valley in the Roman and Byzantine periods must be sought in the chapters devoted to the separate cities, the history of the conquest by the Turks must be written as a whole, for it belongs to no special city. Moreover, the conquest of this valley is better known than that of most parts of Asia Minor, chiefly owing to the interest and local knowledge of Nicetas of Khonai. I shall therefore try to collect here the details of that long war by which the Christians of the Lycos valley were destroyed; and they may serve as a type of the process of bleeding to death whereby the Turks destroyed the Byzantine civilization and empire.

§ 8. THE TURKISH CONQUEST, 1071-1118. The victory of Alp Arslan over Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert in 1071 laid Anatolia prostrate at the feet of the Seljuk Turks. Already in 1070 they had swept over the Lycos valley, and had stabled their horses in the great church of Michael of Colossai<sup>1</sup>, and soon afterwards they acquired permanent occupation of considerable part of Phrygia and almost all the countries east of it. The struggle between the various rival claimants of the Byzantine throne favoured the growth of the Seljuk power by paralyzing the energies of the empire. Michael and Nicephorus both courted the Turkish alliance, and tried to buy the aid of Turkish mercenaries by resigning great part of the empire which they aspired to rule<sup>2</sup>. No definite facts are recorded; but subsequent events show that at this time a large part of Lydia and Phrygia, including

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<sup>1</sup> On the situation and history of this church see Ch. VI. The raid is described by Attaliota 139 f, Scylitzes 686 f, Zonaras XVIII 12. An example of these raids is described Ch. VIII § 2.

<sup>2</sup> The account given by Finlay of

these confused and obscure negotiations is meagre and hardly accurate; but he rightly recognizes that Botaniates must have paid this price for the Turkish aid which placed him on the throne in 1078.



the Lycos valley<sup>1</sup>, was abandoned to the Turks by agreement of the struggling emperors. It would appear that the fortifications of Laodiceia were destroyed at this time, and the city was deserted, and the population settled in villages on the hills that lie on the south towards Denizli (§ 9).

Laodiceia, Khonai (the Byzantine representative of Colossai), and the valley generally remained subject to the Seljuk sultans for some years; but their subjugation was evidently merely nominal, and probably implied nothing more than the payment of tribute. The Seljuk power was founded on no proper organization of government. The Turks were mere nomads, whose authority was confined to their army and the circle of terror that surrounded it. When they retired after a raid, the harrassed and terrified survivors returned to their homes and avocations, and matters went on as before until a new raid was made. In face of a compact and organized society like that of the empire, the Turkish government could make little real impression except by exterminating the civilized people, or at least destroying their trade and agriculture, and reducing them to the level of the barbarian Turks. That was a long and slow process, carried out less by the determinate policy of the sultans than by the natural effect of raids over the frontiers and the influence of a barbarian dominant caste within the frontiers. The Seljuk sultans governed their Christian subjects in a most lenient and tolerant fashion; and even the prejudiced Byzantine historians let drop a few hints that the Christians in many cases preferred the rule of the sultans to that of the emperors<sup>2</sup>. Thus we learn from Nicetas p. 50, and Cinnamus p. 22, that the Christians of the islands in lake Pasgousa or Pougousa strenuously resisted the efforts of John Comnenus to bring them back within the empire, and he was obliged to reduce them by force of arms.

The rule of the Seljuks extended even over Ephesos and Smyrna; and these frontier cities were, as is natural, occupied by Turkish garrisons and governors, while the Lycos valley was left to pay tribute quietly.

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<sup>1</sup> Sibia, Akroenos (Afiom-Kara-Hissar), and the Pentapolis (Sanduklu-ova) were Byzantine; Seljuk territory extended on south and east of the line that passed through them. Pisidia including Apameia was probably Seljuk from this time onwards, except in so far as John Comnenus recovered parts of it.

<sup>2</sup> Note, e.g., the treatment of the prisoners carried off by Kai-Khosroes in 1198: he restored to them all their property and families, and settled them in his own country near Philomelion. The village in which they were placed is still called Giaour-Keui, and is still purely Christian. See p. 23.



The Byzantine power gradually revived under the prudent administration of Alexius Comnenus 1081-1117; and in 1097 his general, John Ducas, captured Smyrna and Ephesos. The immediate result of his success was that the Turks retired from the Cayster and Maeander valleys; and Ducas then advanced by Sardis and Philadelphiea to Laodiceia. The facts we have just stated about the character of Seljuk and Byzantine administration lend much meaning to the statement of Anna Comnena II p. 96 (which at first sight might seem a rather unnecessary one) that the inhabitants of Laodiceia voluntarily came over to Ducas, and that he in consequence treated them very leniently. The population was therefore still entirely Christian. Though Ducas advanced by Lampe as far as Polybotos<sup>1</sup>, he made no attempt to include the Lycos valley within the empire. When he captured Sardis and Philadelphiea, he placed them under a governor; but he did not feel himself strong enough to establish a Byzantine garrison in Laodiceia, and left the people to inhabit their lands and govern themselves. The words chosen by the imperial historian<sup>2</sup> imply that Laodiceia was no longer a strong fortress, but merely a territory with a scattered population. In this state it continued for at least a century.

Though throughout the reign of Alexius Comnenus, no attempt seems to have been made to bring the Lycos valley under the Byzantine rule, yet we observe, in this as in many other cases, how slight was the hold of the Seljuks on the country that they nominally ruled. That barbarian and nomadic race could obtain no real command over a populous and settled country until they destroyed its society and reduced it to a wilderness over which the nomads might wander free. They swept more than once over the Lycos valley in the later years of Alexius's reign, attacking Philadelphiea and ravaging the Hermos and Cayster valleys in 1109, and again in 1112 (Anna II pp. 251, 265). While such raids were being made, it is clear that the cities of the Lycos must have been either helpless and defenceless, or actually in Turkish hands. Laodiceia was, as we learn from Cinnamus, captured by the Turks at some time between 1092 and 1119<sup>3</sup>, for in the latter year John Comnenus advanced by way of

<sup>1</sup> Anna does not tell how he returned to Constantinople; but we may suppose that he marched by Dorylaion.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀνετῶς τὰ σφέτερα κατοικεῖν εἶασε μηδὲ ἡγεμόνα ἐπιστήσας Anna II 96. On the other hand, he established a governor in the great fortress of Khoma (Siblia);

but he can hardly have been an effective ruler. Anna evidently confuses between Lampe and Siblia-Khoma in this passage. Lampe was an open and unprotected village.

<sup>3</sup> Χρόνῳ τινὶ πρότερον Πέρσαις ἀλοῦσαν Cinn. p. 5 (A.D. 1119).



Philadelphiea into the Lycos valley (which is evidently conceived as the enemy's country), and took Laodiceia, which was defended by a Turkish garrison. According to Nicetas p. 17 he rebuilt the walls of the city; but this seems rather doubtful, in view of the statement made by that author as to its condition in 1158.

§ 9. THE TURKISH CONQUEST, 1118-1178. The whole valley continued in Byzantine hands throughout the reign of John Comnenus 1118-1143. Sozopolis, east of Apameia, was the frontier city during this time, having been taken by him in 1120, and unsuccessfully attacked by the Turks in 1142. It is, however, probable that the administration was rather careless in the valley, that Laodiceia was suffered to pass into decay<sup>1</sup>, and that the aqueduct on which it depended for water fell into disrepair, for in 1158 we find that its Christian population had deserted it and settled in villages on the hills that fringed the southern mountain-wall, and its fortifications had been dismantled.

The inhabitants themselves must have been greatly to blame for this state of things. They were evidently helpless and apathetic, and submitted unresistingly to the attack of the Turks. Throughout these border forays no mention is ever made of the slightest attempt at defence by the inhabitants of the district. Even such small bodies of mercenaries as the pretenders could collect ravaged the country at their will without opposition, while the inhabitants sat behind the walls of Laodiceia or on the lofty height of Khonai, trusting only in miracles and the Byzantine armies. Such was the result of so many centuries of Roman and Byzantine government. Looking at these facts we are astounded to read in Finlay's *History*<sup>2</sup> that Frederick Barbarossa in 1190 'found at Laodiceia an independent Greek population accustomed to continual war with the Turks, and who trusted to their own exertions, not to the imperial court and the central government for safety. These free citizens gave the Crusaders a sincere welcome.' It is quite certain that if the Byzantine government had produced such free citizens, who when left alone before the enemy, faced and fought them, the Turks would never have conquered either Asia Minor or Europe. But it is hard to say whether the contempt of all economic and moral law among the governing classes or

<sup>1</sup> Probably I ought rather to say 'remain in the decay and disrepair' which had affected it since 1071.

<sup>2</sup> Finlay has been misled by the example of Philadelphiea, which showed splendid energy and self-reliance: even

Tripolis, p. 24, was far superior in vigour to Laodiceia and Khonai, and so did Sozopolis, where there has remained a strong body of Christians to the present day. But Laodiceia shows no analogy to them.



the helpless ignorance of the middle and lower classes, is the more painful feature of the later Byzantine empire.

The accession of Manuel Comnenus in 1143 seems to have caused much greater relaxation in the administration of the Lycos valley. In 1144 the Turks invaded the Cayster valley, and they must probably have marched on this raid by way of Laodiceia. In revenge the emperor penetrated nearly to Iconium (advancing from Lopadion by the Rhyndacos valley and Kotiaion), and retired by way of lake Pasgousa (Bey-Sheher lake) and the sources of the Maeander: this implies probably that he passed through the Lycos valley on his homeward march.

The disorganized and feeble state of the valley is apparent in the events of 1148, when a crusading army marched through the Laodicean territory. There is some error in the Byzantine accounts, arising from confusion between the armies of Conrad, who advanced by Philadelpheia (Cinn. p. 85), and Louis of France, who marched by Ephesos and Antioch (below, Ch. V); but Louis certainly traversed the Lycos valley, and passed through Laodiceia. He had to cross the Maeander near Antiocheia, p. 162, in the face of a Turkish army drawn up on its left bank; and this implies that the valley in general was left to the Turks. But the Seljuk hold on it was still as uncertain as the Byzantine; the Turks held it only so long as their army was in it; but they had not as yet established their footing permanently in it. When their army retired, the valley remained in Christian hands.

In 1158 Manuel invaded the Turkish territory by way of Philadelpheia, and probably passed through the Lycos valley<sup>1</sup>. He did not gain any real advantage, but merely irritated the Turks, who in revenge, besides other harassing attacks<sup>2</sup>, overran the Lycos valley, and captured Laodiceia, unfortified and defenceless as it was<sup>3</sup>. They slew a vast number of the population, including the archbishop Solomon, and carried away immense booty. In order to revenge this

<sup>1</sup> He invaded the Pentapolis, Nicet. p. 162; no place on the march is mentioned either in the brief reference of Nicetas or the vague diffuse account given by Cinnamus p. 196, except Sarapata Mylonis. In Sarapata we may probably see the Turkish Abad (perhaps Hissar-Abad, 'town of the castle,' i. e. Sanduklu). See *Addenda*.

<sup>2</sup> In these they captured Phileta, a city on the eastern Byzantine fron-

tier, πόλιν ἑώαν Cinn. p. 198. This seems to be a name for Phaselis, see the table facing p. 424 in my *Hist. Geogr.*

<sup>3</sup> Ἐκπορθεῖ Λαοδίκειαν, οὐκέτι οὐδ' ἔτι συνοικουμένην ὥς νῦν ἑώραται οὐδ' εὐεργέσι φραγνυμένην τείχεσι, κατὰ δὲ κώμας ἐκκεχυμένην περὶ τὰς ὑπωρείας τῶν ἐκείσε βουνῶν Nicet. p. 163. Here it seems plain that the name Laodiceia means the territory as a whole, for Laodiceia was not inhabited as a city.



blow, Manuel made great preparations to invade the Turkish territory, but his attention was diverted to affairs in Europe.

The language of Nicetas in speaking of Laodiceia at this time implies that it was afterwards rebuilt and refortified<sup>1</sup>, and was again an inhabited city at the time when he was writing in the early part of the thirteenth century (towards 1216).

In 1174, after an interval of comparative peace, disagreement between Manuel and the Seljuks began; and a Turkish army invaded the Christian territory. The emperor advanced to Philadelphieia with an army; but contented himself with sending on ambassadors to negotiate with the sultan of Iconium. He is not said to have rebuilt Laodiceia; and yet it was evidently a strong fortress in 1189 and 1198. We may therefore conclude that between 1158 and 1174 the Christians had fortified the city.

The question then occurs—did the people return to the site which they had deserted, exposed as it was to every raid of the enemy, needing constant and vigilant defence, and dependent for water on an aqueduct, or did they fortify a new city further south on the higher ground, of less size and more easily defended, far away from the direct road along which the Turkish marauders swept down towards the rich Maeander valley? We find that everywhere in later Byzantine times the readily accessible sites on the roads were deserted in favour of lofty and defensible sites. In this case surely the people would not go back again to the exposed site after they had deserted it. They probably built a new Laodiceia at the modern Denizli, which is (or was) a walled city. This remote situation would explain why the city was not captured in the invasions of 1189 and 1198. The evidence quoted in the following paragraphs proves that this view is correct, although Nicetas, a native of the valley, does not mention that any such change of site had occurred.

Again, in the great effort that Manuel made in 1176 against the Turks, he delivered his blow by way of Philadelphieia, Laodiceia, and Khoma<sup>2</sup>. After his defeat he retired by the same way again, leaving

<sup>1</sup> Nicetas p. 163, quoted in the preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> In the previous year he had advanced to Khoma (Soublaion-Siblia) by marching from Dorylaion first to the Rhyndacos, perhaps about Aizanoi and thence by way of Eumeneia. This circuitous route from Dorylaion to Siblia proves that the country which lay along the direct road was so much in the hands

of the Turks that Manuel with his small army (Cinn. p. 297) could not venture to traverse it. His route is not expressly stated; but Cinnamus's allusion to the Rhyndacos makes it probable, cp. Nicet. p. 229. The only alternative would be to suppose that he went down the Rhyndacos valley to Lopadion, and thence round by the Kaikos valley and Philadelphieia.



the valley once more at the mercy of the Turks, who swept down the Maeander valley with a numerous army, capturing Tralleis and Antiocheia, and sacking Louma, Pentakheir, and other fortresses; but on their return they were intercepted and cut to pieces at the crossing of the Maeander below Tripolis by a Byzantine army, which had advanced by Philadelpheia, and thus got in between the Turks and their own country (see Ch. V).

Laodiceia is hardly mentioned in this and the following campaigns of Manuel. It now lay back from the direct road, in the retired situation of Denizli; and was therefore not in the way of an army on the march.

This success encouraged the emperor to make one more effort to defend the Lycos valley against the Turks. He advanced in person, and tried to drive out the nomads who occupied with their tents Lakerion and Panasion. These districts were not actually in the Lycos valley, for up to the present time the population seems to have been exclusively Christian and the Turks appear not to have gained a permanent footing in it till a later date<sup>1</sup>. But they were close to the Lycos valley, and Manuel employed a native of Laodiceia as a scout in his operations against Lakerion. We may therefore infer that the nomad Turks had already established themselves in the adjoining districts, Baklan-Ova (Lounda) and the vast plain called Banaz-Ova. The latter is obviously the Panasion of Nicetas<sup>2</sup>. The Turks were driven out of both districts. Manuel then returned to the capital, leaving to Andronicus Angelus the task of driving out the Turks from the district adjoining the Lycos valley on the east, the plain of Chardak (Kharax); but that general's cowardice caused a panic and headlong flight, which is related in sarcastic and amusing terms by Nicetas.

This seems to have been the last occasion on which a Byzantine force penetrated beyond the Lycos. We may safely conclude that the nomads immediately reoccupied Panasion and Lakerion; and began

<sup>1</sup> I formerly erred on this point, understanding that detachments of Turkish soldiers had encamped at two places in the Lycos valley; but nomad settlements are meant by Nicetas p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Lakerion, Ala-Kir, Ch. VII § 2. Many examples occur in these late writers of such adoption of Turkish names, Taxara=τὸ ἸΑκ-σέραι, ἸΑκ-σιάρη,

Πέγ-σιάρη, &c., see *Hist. Geogr.* p. 285. The employment of Turkish names must be taken as a proof of Turkish occupation having become permanent; and steady progress in nomadizing the Byzantine territory must have been made since 1158. This explains why Manuel took such a circuitous route from Dorylaion to Khoma-Siblia.



to press more strongly than before on the ebbing power of the Christians in the Lycos valley.

§ 10. *THE TURKISH CONQUEST, 1178-1210.* After Isaac Angelus became emperor in 1185, the Cayster valley was the scene of Turkish ravages, from which it had been almost free since 1092<sup>1</sup>. This renewed advance marks a further stage in the decay of the empire; and we may understand that the Lycos valley was now almost wholly abandoned by the imperial government, though theoretically part of the empire. Yet it would appear that some Christian cities maintained themselves far in the heart of Turkish territory. Nicetas p. 340 mentions that Sozopolis was not captured by the Turks until after the death of Manuel, though that emperor seems to have never been in communication with it after the first years of his reign. Such facts as this show how slow was the real conquest of the country by the Turks, and how long Byzantine civilization maintained itself at isolated points<sup>2</sup>. The Lycos valley, though exposed to frequent raids, continued free from the permanent presence of Turks.

Muralt quotes from William de Nangis a statement that Laodiceia was devastated by the Turkmens in Sept. 1187<sup>3</sup>. But this seems exaggerated, and can only be understood of losses inflicted on the territory, for in 1189 Theodorus Mankaphas, with some Turkish auxiliaries, invaded the Lycos valley, inflicted great losses on the people of Khonai and Laodiceia, which were still independent of the Turks, burned the church of Michael of Colossai, attacked the village of Karia (Gereli), and carried into captivity many of its inhabitants (Nicet. p. 523)<sup>4</sup>.

On April 25, 1190, Frederick Barbarossa reached Laodiceia, and was hospitably received by the inhabitants: his reception by them was in striking contrast with the treatment given to his troops in all other Greek cities, and was requited with deep gratitude (Nicet. p. 539). It would appear that Laodiceia was at this time situated at Denizli, for it is described as being situated at the foot of a very lofty

<sup>1</sup> Only in 1144 is an invasion of the Cayster valley mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> It appears probable that Sozopolis, like Philadelphieia afterwards, developed some native resolution and courage, and that finally it made good terms with the Seljuks. The Christians retained their homes and property, with certain defined rights; and they live to this day in their own quarter on the acropolis of the city, where they had

defended themselves.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps there is some confusion with Laodiceia in Syria which was taken by Saladin in 1189.

<sup>4</sup> Here it is implied that the towns Khonas and Laodiceia lay off the line of the raid down the valley, and only their lands suffered. The old Laodiceia was exactly on the line of march: the new Laodiceia was safe at Denizli, and lost only outlying property.



mountain (*sita in pede altissimi montis*), which is strikingly true of Denizli, but not of the old Greek Laodiceia. Further it is said that at this time the lands of Laodiceia were the Greek frontier, and all beyond was Turkish; and the descriptions of the eastward march show plainly that nomads held the glen of the upper Lycos (called Little Maeander, p. 219) and Colossai<sup>1</sup>.

In 1191 an impostor, who pretended to be the murdered Alexius Comnenus II, invaded the Maeander valley, profaning the church of Michael of Colossai as he passed<sup>2</sup>. He did not capture either Khonai or Laodiceia.

In 1198 Kai-Khosroes, sultan of Iconium, made an expedition into the Maeander valley, carrying into captivity the whole population of Karia (Gereli) and Tantalos (near Antiocheia), and almost succeeding in capturing Antiocheia (Nicet. p. 655)<sup>3</sup>. He treated his captives well, and settled them near Philomelion.

In 1206 Theodore Lascaris, after defeating Morotheodorus, who claimed the empire and held Philadelphiea, was in possession of the whole Maeander valley; and it is probable that this includes Laodiceia (Acrop. p. 14); but very shortly afterwards Manuel Maurozomes, son-in-law of Kai-Khosroes and claimant of the empire, laid waste with a Turkish army the entire valley of the Maeander (Nicet. p. 828); and an agreement was made between him and Theodore Lascaris, whereby the former received Khonai, Laodiceia<sup>4</sup>, and the Maeander valley, while the latter held Philadelphiea, Ephesos, and all the country north<sup>5</sup>. We hear nothing more about Manuel, and the arrangement with him probably had little practical effect; but any effect that it had would be in the way of extending Turkish influence over the territory that had been assigned to him. It is highly probable that Khonai and Laodiceia passed into Turkish possession about this time.

In 1210 the sultan Gaiath-ed-din, supporting the rights of Alexius, father-in-law of Theodore Lascaris, invaded the Maeander valley, and attacked Antiocheia. He was defeated and killed by Theodore, who advanced with extreme rapidity at the head of a very small army; and the Turks concluded peace, the terms of which are not mentioned

<sup>1</sup> *Finis hic fuit ditionis terrae Graecorum*, Ansbert. See Ch. VI § 6. Beyond this on the first day they entered *loca desertissima Turcorum*.

<sup>2</sup> This raid is described in more detail in Ch. VI.

<sup>3</sup> Again Khonai and Laodiceia are

saved by their retired situation.

<sup>4</sup> This implies that the Lycos valley was still not considered part of the Seljuk territory, though it was partly nomadized already.

<sup>5</sup> Φιλόμολποι in Nicet. p. 842 must be surely an error for Φιλάδελοι.



either by Acropolita p. 19, or by Gregoras I p. 21. Their silence suggests that the terms were not very honourable to the Byzantine emperor<sup>1</sup>; and it is clear from subsequent history that Laodiceia was now abandoned to the Turks, and Tripolis became the frontier city, with the Maeander dividing the Turkish from the Byzantine territory. It is noteworthy that Theodore advanced, not by Philadelphiea and Tripolis, but across the Caystros<sup>2</sup>, which suggests that the former route was unsafe and exposed to the Turks.

§ 11. THE TURKISH CONQUEST, 1210-1306. In 1243 John Vatatzes had a conference at Tripolis with the sultan Az-ed-din; and a peace and alliance was arranged. The Turks made a temporary bridge of wood across the Maeander to facilitate the conference. Gregoras I p. 41 says that this peace was of great advantage to the Christians, giving them rest from the constant wars that had been going on<sup>3</sup>. It was probably at this time that Vatatzes fortified Tripolis so strongly that it held out against the Turks for more than fifty years longer<sup>4</sup>.

In 1258 the sultan Gaiath-ed-din, being hard pressed by the Tartars, sought help from Theodore II, and restored Laodiceia to him. It was occupied by Byzantine troops, but was too distant to be maintained, and soon passed back into the hands of the Turks. Tripolis however continued a Roman city, though hard pressed by the Turks, who evidently held all the territory around<sup>5</sup> with the pass leading to Philadelphiea. Tripolis was the outpost of the empire, and lightened the task of defending Philadelphiea. But, being entirely isolated, its inhabitants found great difficulty in keeping it provisioned, and at

<sup>1</sup> Gregoras only says that the Turkish ambassadors did not get all they desired; the terms are made clear by the sequel of events.

<sup>2</sup> This implies probably that he went by Ephesos; but it is also possible that he took the unusual and difficult road by Sardis and Hypaipa, crossing both Tmolos and Messogis.

<sup>3</sup> The meeting was evidently fixed at Tripolis as being the frontier city of the Byzantine empire; and the Maeander therefore was the limit between Turkish and Christian territory. Acropolita p. 112 says that Philadelphiea was near the frontier (eulogizing the warlike character of its people); but this statement is quite consistent with a frontier on the Maeander. The frontier was

probably settled by the peace of 1210, and confirmed in 1243, and again when Theodore II succeeded Vatatzes in 1255 (Acrop. p. 112).

<sup>4</sup> Neither Gregoras nor Acropolita mentions the fortification of Tripolis; but Pachymeres II 433, when describing its capture shortly before 1306, mentions that the emperor Ducas, i.e. John Ducas Vatatzes, had fortified it.

<sup>5</sup> Therefore it is clear that Bulladan was the Turkish town; its inhabitants had submitted peaceably, while Tripolis, when captured, was either destroyed or allowed to pass into decay. It has long been quite deserted, its population having moved to New-Village (Yeni-Keui) a mile or two distant.



last became almost wholly dependent on their Turkish neighbours for food. This gave the Turks the opportunity of surprising the city by stratagem, and it was captured shortly before 1306<sup>1</sup>.

The Lycos valley was defended for so long against the Turks, not by military skill and national armies, nor yet by any special display of courage, devotion, and self-help among its inhabitants<sup>2</sup>, but simply by the strength of inertia that belongs to a society long organized according to Roman law and church law. With the Phrygian doorway (see p. 1) always open, the Turks had the entire valley of the Maeander at their mercy; and the same lack of energy and power of self-help is conspicuous in this whole region. Each city stood until the Turks gathered power to overthrow it<sup>3</sup>. But at the head of the Hermos valley, Philadelpheia affords a striking example of the strength which civilization possesses against barbarism, when aided by energy and personal bravery. Until 1379 or 1390<sup>4</sup>, when the united power of the Byzantine Emperor and the Osmanli Sultan<sup>4</sup> compelled it to surrender to the Turks, it maintained its independence, 'cut off,' as Finlay says, 'from the central administration of the Greek empire, and relieved from fiscal oppression and commercial monopolies,' which ruined the Byzantine cities to support the Byzantine court.

§ 12. THE TRIUMPH OF MOHAMMEDANISM. We have traced in outline the history of the Lycos valley as a part of the Roman empire (to which it had belonged since 133 B.C.), until it finally passed into Turkish hands. At that time it was inhabited by a large population of Christians. When railway enterprise began to penetrate into the valley again<sup>5</sup>, the population was almost entirely Mohammedan,

<sup>1</sup> Muralt places the capture in 1306, after the relief of Philadelpheia by Roger the Catalan. But, though that is the order of description in Pachymeres II 426, 433, he expressly says that the hard straits from which Philadelpheia was relieved had been caused by the fall of Tripolis shortly before.

<sup>2</sup> Tripolis alone is known to have shown any energy and courage.

<sup>3</sup> In 1279 Michael Palaeologus sent his son Andronicus to the Maeander valley, which had long been abandoned to the Turks, and had become almost a wilderness. He rebuilt Tralleis, and called it Andronicopolis; but neither military strength nor engineering skill to maintain or defend a city were found

among the population; and in 1282 it was destroyed by the unexpected appearance of a Turkish army. The story brings forcibly before us the slowness of the Seljuk hold on the country as well as the decay of Byzantine organization and civilization.

<sup>4</sup> The date is doubtful: Finlay gives 1390; Muralt 1379, Von Hammer 1391; in 1390 Bayazid was sultan, in 1379 Amurath (Murad).

<sup>5</sup> This was when the railway reached Philadelpheia. At that time competition between that line and the Ottoman Railway (which had penetrated up the Maeander valley as far as Tralleis-Aidin) began for the trade that came from the interior through the Lycos valley. The



except in the village of Khonai, which was half-Christian, and a small Greek settlement in Denizli. What was the history of the Christians of the Lycos valley in the interval? The answer to this question would be a discussion of the situation and treatment of the Christian population under Seljuk and Osmanli domination. That lies beyond the scope of this book; but one or two facts may be stated.

The foundation of Denizli evidently was, as we have already seen, connected with the desertion of the older Laodiceia. The population migrated from the latter to the former, as they migrated from Tripolis to Yeni-Keui. The very name 'full of waters' suggests the reason why the site was chosen. Laodiceia in its dry and bare situation was entirely dependent on artificial supply of water, brought from beside Denizli. In the latter place the water runs through the streets. Denizli is embowered in gardens and verdure; the situation of Laodiceia is hot, dusty, and uninviting. The one great advantage of Laodiceia, its situation on the actual line of the Eastern Highway, was of no consequence after commerce decayed and every village lived on the produce of its own fields. The delightful situation of Denizli must have made it at all times a country resort of the Laodiceans; and as the appliances of civilization, which made the existence of a large city at Laodiceia possible, decayed (e.g. when the water-supply was interrupted, and neither skill nor energy to repair it existed), population could not maintain itself at Laodiceia. In contrast to the new city, Laodiceia was called Eski-Hissar 'the old fortress.' There was still a village beside it in the early part of this century; now hardly a house remains.

The new Laodiceia on the site of Denizli had become the centre of population when Ibn Batuta visited the district about A.D. 1332 or 1333. He calls it 'a large and fine city, abounding with water and gardens <sup>1</sup>, governed by 'the sultan Yajaj Beg, who is one of the greatest princes of these parts'; and he gives the name as Lādhik. His description leaves no doubt that he means Denizli, though he uses the historical Greek name, and Schebab-ed-din about 1340 uses the name Thingozlou <sup>2</sup>. Denizli, then, is a descriptive epithet of the city which was called Lādhik for a time even by the Turks, and which therefore must have the continuation of the historical existence of the original Laodiceia.

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Greek agent for the former line told me that, when he came to Serai-Keui, there was in the Lycos valley no one except himself that could speak Greek. The few Christians knew no language

except Turkish.

<sup>1</sup> Travels of Ibn Batuta, transl. by Lee, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mas Latrie *Tresor de Chronologie* p. 1798.



Analogous cases may throw some light on the relation between Denizli and Eski-Hissar. Near Prymnessos we find a village Mikhayil, which preserves the name of the local saint. This would suggest that the Christian population retired thither from the exposed site of Prymnessos, while the fortress Akroenos, close to Prymnessos, became the Mohammedan city Kara-Hissar. But Mikhayil has become a Turkish village. Again, at the Phrygian Sebaste, we have the two villages, Sivasli, a turcized form of the ancient name<sup>1</sup>, and Seljüklér. The latter is obviously the Mohammedan village, 'the Seljuks,' as distinguished from the village which preserved the ancient name, and probably for a time the ancient religion; but both are now purely Mohammedan villages.

As the nomads spread over the valley, population must have decreased, for the land passed out of cultivation, and there was no commerce to supply food. Hierapolis became deserted, and a small Turkmen village on the plain below the site of the city is now the only sign of human life about it. But still it remains a difficult question, what became of the Christians of the valley? how was it that in place of several hundreds of thousands (for we cannot estimate the population lower in the flourishing Byzantine times), there remained little more than a thousand<sup>2</sup> in this century? They could not migrate, for the whole country was exposed to the Turks; and, as we have seen, Christians under the Seljuk rule were happier than in the heart of the empire; and most miserable of all were the Byzantine frontier lands, exposed to continual raids. As to religious persecution, there is not a trace of it in the Seljuk period, and even the more fanatical Osmanli government has never been given to open persecution, though it made the position of the Christians more disadvantageous and dishonourable than it had been under the Seljuks. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that many of the Christians became Mohammedan, and that the Moslem population of Denizli is to a considerable extent descended from that of the Christian Laodiceia. Similarly one would expect that in the people of Kadi-Keui we find the remains of the Christians of Trapezopolis or Attouda.

<sup>1</sup> See § 13 on Mikhail and Sivasli.

<sup>2</sup> According to Arundel there were a few Greek houses in Serai-Keui, and 70 in Denizli (Hamilton about ten years later says 120); Khonai can hardly have had more than 150 or 200 Greek houses. Cuinet *Turquie d'Asie* III p. 616 gives the Greek population in 1894 of

Denizli-Kaza (including Khonas) as 1200 (and the Armenian 430), of Serai-Keui 450, of Tchal 420. Of these the Armenians and every Christian in Serai-Keui and Tchal are recent commercial immigrants. How many of the Greeks in Denizli are immigrant?



The manufacturing skill which lingered on in this district among the Mohammedans was not derived from Turkish ancestors. Just as the Mohammedans of Crete are to a great extent of the same stock as the Christians, so probably it is with the Turks of the Lycos valley cities. The Turkmens and Yuruks, villagers and nomads, are considered as a totally different race by the people of the towns who call themselves Osmanli<sup>1</sup>.

We conclude then that the strong Oriental substratum in the Phrygian inhabitants of the Lycos valley asserted itself, and they were more ready to adopt an Oriental religion like Mohammedanism than the Christians in some other parts of the country were. If we are right in the view that Denizli was founded, not by the Mohammedans after 1210, but by the Christians between 1158 and 1174, then our present conclusion is a practical certainty. The Laodiceia which was a purely Christian city in 1210, had become to a great extent a Mohammedan city before 1333, and yet retained some of the old Anatolian institutions<sup>2</sup>; and there is no reason to think that any violent change had occurred. A voluntary adoption of Mohammedanism by the Laodiceans (taking place in a gradual way) seems the only possible explanation of the facts.

§ 13. MODERN AND ANCIENT ANATOLIA. There are certain characteristics of modern Turkey which ought to be carefully noted by any antiquarian traveller, as they often throw light on ancient history, besides having an interest of their own. For example, every one must be struck with the common fact that neighbouring villages remain distinct from each other in blood and in manners. There is little mixture of races in a country which contains perhaps as great a number of different races as any in the world. The inhabitants live side by side in comparative peace, and yet in almost complete exclusiveness. The same seems to have been the case in ancient time. Strabo speaks of the great number of different races in Cappadocia; and the other parts of the country must have had the same character, though in a less degree. These various races seem to have maintained their separation. The Roman government aimed at introducing a uniform type, and succeeded to some degree among the educated classes, who took on a Graeco-Roman polish, and were rather ashamed of the provincial character as being 'barbarian'; but it failed to affect

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'Turk' is contemptuous; one Osmanli will express his scorn of another by addressing him as Turk-Kafa, 'stupid-head.'

<sup>2</sup> I refer especially to the society called the Brotherhood by Ibn Batuta: the institution will be described in a later volume; see also Ch. III § 7.



the mass of the people. The uniformity of Church organization proved far more efficacious than the Roman government. The Orthodox Church was strenuously opposed to national distinctions; whereas heresies and schisms proved favourable to them<sup>1</sup>. But to all appearance there existed during the early centuries of the empire marked differences of custom and character between different cities in the same valley, corresponding to difference of nationality. Probably there was much which is hidden from us by deficiency of evidence; but we shall be struck with the existence of three classes of towns or cities side by side, the native Phrygian or Pisidian town or set of villages, the Seleucid colony, and the Pergamenian settlement. The last two classes must have been closer in character to one another, uniting in Greek education and in a modified form of Greek municipal constitution; but some signs of difference between them can be traced. The student should be alive to the signs of different customs and ways which may appear on a careful scrutiny.

Again the sacredness of particular localities should always be noted, as it will often be found to date from remote antiquity. Setting aside all places or buildings which are fully accounted for by the fact that Mohammedans living together in a town or village must carry out in common the ritual of their religion, and for that purpose must have a common meeting-place, we find that the peasantry believe in the sanctity of a great number of other places. In many cases we can prove that these places were held sacred in ancient time, though the religious veneration has taken on it some alteration of form, and, in particular, the holy personage connected with this sacred place, once a pagan god or a Christian saint, appears as a Mohammedan or Turkish personage, being often called merely the *dede* or heroized ancestor<sup>2</sup>. By applying the general principle of the permanence of religious veneration we shall often get a clue to guide us to the discovery of ancient historical facts. A Christian bishopric in many cases turns out to have succeeded to the priesthood of an old *hieron*. Tekke-Keui bears the religious awe connected with the marvellous natural phenomena of Karoura. A place of pilgrimage in modern times may probably turn out to have been a noted shrine of Artemis or Sabazios. The curious societies called 'the Brothers' by Ibn Batuta seem to be the Mohammedan form of a kind of association with a secret pass or

<sup>1</sup> This was often in spite of the principles and wishes of their leaders.

<sup>2</sup> The *dede* has almost always a grave, which is contained in a building called a *turbe*. The commonest form of the

*turbe* is a circular building with a pointed roof, surmounted by the crescent; but it occurs in many shapes, sometimes extremely humble and primitive, sometimes very elaborate.



sign connected with the worship of the Great Goddess. The Mevlevi dervishes dance in frenzied excitement to the music of Cybele's own instruments, cymbals and flutes, and perhaps even to the actual airs that were played centuries before Christ. Every religious fact should be noted by the archaeological traveller<sup>1</sup>.

The modern place-names should always be carefully observed. In many cases they can be recognized as known ancient words; but there must be many other cases in which they represent ancient names unknown to us. In some parts of the country the ancient names have been preserved in extraordinary numbers, in others almost all the names are obviously Turkish. In the former case it will, I think, usually be found that the ancient stock still forms a large proportion of the population; in the latter case the nomadic Turkish stock has displaced the ancient races.

The Lycos valley shows few cases of the survival of ancient names, for it was long a frontier district between the Seljuks and the Byzantine empire, and was therefore much exposed to the depopulating and devastating processes of frontier-warfare. But Khonai is still called Khonas<sup>2</sup>; Karia is Gereli; Sighama and Mandama may perhaps conceal ancient names.

Throughout Phrygia few ancient names survive, for the country was as a whole the scene of a long struggle against the Turks. In Cappadocia, on the other hand, where the Turkish conquest was sudden, complete, and undisputed, ancient names remain in great numbers; and an unusually large proportion of the population has even preserved the Christian religion. Pisidia also, lying out of the line of march of raiders and armies, preserves the ancient names to a great extent and also probably the ancient population Mohammedanized.

One interesting class of names consists of those which preserve a religious fact. The name of the local saint often survived the city-name; and this is the case with Tefeni (i.e. (Σ)τεφάνου)<sup>3</sup>, Ilias<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon has been often observed: some examples of it are collected in a paper *On the permanent attachment of religious veneration to special localities in Asia Minor* published in the *Transactions of the Oriental Congress of London* 1892.

<sup>2</sup> The modern name often takes the accusative form, e.g. Kadoi-Gediz, (S)agalassos - Aghlason; in many of these cases it may be noticed that the

ancient name was accented on the last syllable (Gediz, Davas, Khonas, &c. are exceptions). The accent regularly determines the form of the modern name: e.g. Σεβάστεια is Sivas, but Σεβαστή is Sivasli (where *li* is due to *Turcisation*, cp. Gereli Ch. V § 5).

<sup>3</sup> Kiepert however in the text to his recent map of Asia Provincia makes Tefeni=Τημένει, see p. 279.

<sup>4</sup> This however may be due to the



Mikhayil near Prymnessos<sup>1</sup>, Mikhalitch (on the Sangarios), and several others which preserve the name of Michael the Archangel, the most widely worshipped saint in Asia Minor<sup>2</sup>.

In the districts treated in this volume, the following modern names are, some certainly, some possibly, ancient survivals (besides those just mentioned), Medele (Motella or Metellopolis), Exava or Eksava, Geveze<sup>3</sup>, Billara (Brioula), Dandalo (Tantalos), Evgara, Khoma (Khoma), Aidan (Attanassos), Sikmen, Meler, Gebren (Kivlana), Einesh, &c., see p. 301.

Seljuk prince Ilias, and not to a local Christian cult.

<sup>1</sup> An inscription to Michael of Prymnessos is published *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Mualitch (Miletopolis *Hist. Geogr.* p. 159) is probably Mikhailitch.

<sup>3</sup> Compare in Bithynia Geveze (Da-

kibyza) *Hist. Geogr.* p. 184. Some of the names in this list may, however, be recognized as genuine Turkish by those who have better knowledge of Turkish than I (who have simply picked up by ear from the peasantry their rude speech).

NOTE.—A map of the Lycos valley from its source to the junction with the Maeander (showing the sites of Laodiceia, Colossai, and Hierapolis), on the scale of nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles per inch, is given in my *Church in the Roman Empire* p. 472.



## CHAPTER II

### LAODICEIA : THE GRAECO-ROMAN CITY

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§ 1. FOUNDATION, PEOPLE, RELIGION. Laodiceia was probably  
founded by Antiochus II (261–246 B.C.), and named after his wife  
Laodice<sup>1</sup>. The intention of this and of the numerous other Seleucid  
colonies in Asia Minor was to strengthen the hold of the Seleucid  
monarchy on the country. They were at once centres of a rather  
debased form of Greek civilization and culture in a non-Greek land,  
and military strongholds peopled by colonists likely to be faithful  
to the Syrian kings<sup>2</sup>. Many such cities in Asia Minor, when they

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<sup>1</sup> Stephanus (s.v. Λαοδίκεια) Λυδίας, Ἀντιόχου κτίσμα τοῦ παιδὸς τῆς Στρατονίκης· τῇ γὰρ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα Λαοδίκη. Διὸς μῆνυμα δι' Ἑρμοῦ, ὅναρ διὰ χρησμοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. Stephanus also s.v. Ἀντιόχεια, following a different authority and placing the city in Caria, attributes the foundation to Antiochus I Soter (281–61), so far as his very doubtful statement can be understood: M. Radet, *Rev. de Philol.* 1893 p. 59, accepts it, and attributes the foundation to Antiochus I, but he disregards both Stephanus's other

distinct statement that Antiochus son of Stratonike, i.e. Antiochus II, founded it, and Eustathius's similar statement Ἀντίοχος ἔκτισε παῖς Ἀντιόχου ἐκ (the original has τοῦ for ἐκ) τῆς Στρατονίκης χρησμοῦ δοθέντος ἐν ὀνείροις (ad Dionys. Per. p. 915, quoted by Droysen). *Addend.* 4.

<sup>2</sup> Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XII 3 gives a statement by Antiochus the Great of his reasons for making such colonies, and his expectation that the colonists would be loyal to him.



contained a considerable proportion of Greek or Macedonian colonists, took some title showing their pride in their origin. None such is found at Laodiceia; and evidence deduced from the religion of the city suggests that a certain proportion of the population must have been Syrian. The chief deity was called by the Greek name Zeus; for Greek certainly was the state-language of all Seleucid colonies in Asia Minor. This deity was the old local god, for the god who had power in the country must as a matter of course be worshipped by the new settlers (II *Kings* XVII 26); and the city was assumed to have been founded by his orders: the native Phrygian formula expressing this would be 'at the direction of the god,' but in the hellenized version of the foundation-legend the phrase is 'by revelation from Zeus given through Hermes<sup>1</sup>.' But this hellenized form of a native Phrygian deity, the Zeus of Laodiceia (Ζεὺς Λαοδικηνός), appears also on coins of the city with the title Aseis. Longpérier has explained Aseis as a Semitic term, meaning *powerful*<sup>2</sup>; and M. Waddington regards it as corresponding to the dedicatory formula θεῶ ὑψίστῳ, which occurs at Laodiceia (inscr. 14)<sup>3</sup>. The Greek epithet came into use in many parts of Asia Minor under the Diadochi, when an old Greek adjective, which had been used (perhaps in a simpler, naturalistic sense) at least as early as Pindar and Aeschylus, was utilized to express an Oriental idea. The Syrian Aseis marks the Syrian element in the colonization of Laodiceia<sup>4</sup>. It remained in use as late as the middle of the second century after Christ<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Stephanus, quoted in first note, and § 7 a. The common native formula is κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> Arabic *aziz*, Aramaic *Aziza*: the Ares of Edessa had the title ἄζιζος, as Lightfoot (*Colossians* p. 9) says quoting Julian *orat.* IV, Cureton *Spic. Syr.* p. 80; Lagarde *Gesamm. Abhandl.* p. 16; CIG 9893. See M. Waddington *Voyage Numism.* p. 26. With the use of the Syrian title, compare the name Anaitis in the Katakekaumene: it was introduced by the oriental settlers planted there by Cyrus; they identified the goddess Artemis-Leto of the district with their own Anaitis. *Addenda.*

<sup>3</sup> Zeus Hypsistos or θεῶ ὑψίστῳ at Miletos *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 p. 267; Aizanoi CIG 3842 d, add.; Palmyra 4500, 4502, 4503; Mylasa 2693 e, LW 416; Iasos BCH 1884 p. 456; Lagina BCH 1887

p. 159; Stratonikaia BCH 1881 p. 182; Oinoanda CIG 4380 n<sup>2</sup>, add.; Cyzicos 3669; Thrace (Bizya) *Eph. Ep.* II 256. In Pisidia the term is Zeus Μέγιστος Ch. IX.

<sup>4</sup> We must note that Friedländer, in *Zft. f. Num.* II p. 108 f, prefers to understand Zeus ΑΣΕΙΣ as equivalent to Zeus ΑΥΔΙΟΣ at Sardis (and also at the neighbouring city of Kidramos Ch. V, App. I), comparing the Phyle Ἀσιός at Sardis Herod. IV 45 and the Ἀσιος λειμών near Nysa in M. Messogis Strab. p. 650. This is quite possible; but the peculiar form of the word Aseis seems not analogous to Phrygian names, but like a foreign (Semitic) epithet assimilated to these names from the common tendency to give to foreign names a form that had some meaning or familiarity.

<sup>5</sup> It is known that natives of Syria



Zeus Aseis is, on the coins, represented along with a goat. Later coins, which show a bearded god, supporting a child on his left arm and extending his right to the horns of a goat, may be assumed to commemorate the same deity<sup>1</sup>. The birth of a god was therefore the subject of a cult-legend of Laodiceia. Another coin shows the infant god in the arms of a woman, while three armed male figures, standing around, beat their shields with their swords; but it is doubtful whether this type has not been to some extent influenced by the hellenizing tendency and assimilated to the Cretan legend<sup>2</sup>. The child is no doubt Sabazios-Dionysos<sup>3</sup>, son of Zeus and Persephone; and, as M. Foucart remarks (*Assoc. Relig.* p. 69), 'we need hardly say that Zeus and Persephone are not the real names of these gods, but Hellenic equivalents.' The father and the son, however, are merely complementary forms of the single ultimate form of the divinity as male (Ch. III).

Personal names sometimes give valuable evidence of nationality, but too few at Laodiceia are known. Molossos, no. 12, and Seitalkas may be Macedonian, unless they point to a settlement of Thracian mercenaries made by the Pergamenian kings in the Lycos valley to counterbalance the colonists of Laodiceia, who were attached to the Seleucid kings<sup>4</sup>. Such soldiers, originally settled at Tripolis (Ch. V App. III), might spread over the valley in later times. Seitalkas, who

were sometimes planted in the Seleucid colonies of Asia. Seleucus Nikator had placed many Jews in them even before Laodiceia was founded (and Antiochus the Great did so afterwards): Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XII 3 'Εν αἷς ἔκτισε πόλεις ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ κάτω Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μητροπόλει Ἀντιοχείᾳ πολιτείας αὐτοὺς ἡξίωσε, καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικισθεῖσιν ἰσοτίμους ἀπέδειξε Μακεδόσι καὶ Ἑλλήσιν, ὥς τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένειν.

<sup>1</sup> Imhoof MG p. 407. On the goat see Ch. IV § 12 g.

<sup>2</sup> According to *Orac. Sib.* V 130 f, Rhea came (from Crete) to Phrygia and settled there. Διὸς Γοβαί, i. e. the circumstances connected with the birth of Zeus, is the legend accompanying a similar type on a coin of Tralleis (*Head Hist. Num.* p. 555).

<sup>3</sup> On Sabazios see Ch. IX § 5. P. Aelius Dionysius Sabinianus (hardly an imperial freedman § 21) appears on

coins of the second century with Dionysiac types, in one case a cornucopia on which sits an infant holding a bunch of grapes in the right hand. The infant then is Dionysos, and Dionysius chose from the city-religion a type that suited his name. The same child-god seems to have played a part in the divine drama at Hierapolis; but on its coins mother and infant are represented on the analogy of Eirene and Ploutos. Such Greek ideas must not be taken as giving the real nature of the deities. Imhoof MG p. 403.

<sup>4</sup> Macedonian colonists were characteristic of Seleucid cities (see Schuchhardt's excellent article in *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 p. 1 f); while the Pergamenian kings often used Thracian mercenaries called Tralleis or Traleis, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 112, Fränkel *Inscr. Perg.* I no. 13, p. 16.







# LAODICEIA AD LYCUM

G. WEBER.



A = Ephesian Gate.  
B = } Gates of Hierapolis.  
C = }  
D = Syrian Gate.

E = Acropolis.  
F = Ionic Temple.  
G, H, I = Gymnasia or Churches.  
J = Odeum.

L = Gymnasium.  
M = Aqueduct.  
O = Bridge.  
S = Sarcophagi.

Scale  
500

1000 Mètres

N. & A. X. Johnston, Edinburgh & London.



is known from a coin of style not later than Augustus with a portrait-bust probably of Seitalkas himself, must have been a personage of very high rank at Laodiceia<sup>1</sup>; but nothing is known as to his origin. The Thracian name Kotys also occurs (C. Julius Kotys, under Titus), but the reason of its introduction is different (see § 5).

§ 2. SITUATION AND TERRITORY. According to Pliny V 105 earlier names for Laodiceia were Diospolis and Rhoas. The former merely marks it as the city whose chief god was Zeus; but it is possible that the latter may be a real old name given to the site beside the small river Asopos. There is no doubt that in early time Colossai was the great city of the Lycos valley, and Rhoas was a mere village until the Seleucid foundation of Laodiceia was made. A site such as was commonly selected for the Seleucid foundations (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 85) was found at the northern limit of the low alluvial hills in front of M. Salbakos (Ch. I 1). It was a small plateau nearly square, with corners facing N., S., E., W., each side fully  $\frac{2}{3}$  mile (1,000 metres) in length, rising from 50 to 150 feet above the low lands along the course of the Lycos. With good fortifications and soldiers to man them, the city could be made a very strong fortress, while it is at the same time on the direct line of the Eastern Highway (Ch. I 4, V 1), which entered by a gate (called, as we may suppose, 'Ephesian') in the middle of the north-west side, and issued forth by the 'Syrian Gate' beside the east corner<sup>2</sup>.

A coin, which has been widely misunderstood, shows Laodiceia, a turreted female figure, holding a patera in her right and a statuette of Zeus Laodiceus in her left hand; on one side of her is a goat ΚΑΠΡΟΣ, on the other a wolf ΛΥΚΟΣ: the coin is dated πη', A.D. 211<sup>3</sup>.

This coin refers to the position, not of the town, but of the state of Laodiceia. The town is placed between the Asopos and the Kadmos, but the boundaries of the territory, i.e. the state Laodiceia, are the Lycos and the Kapros: the latter separates it from Attouda, the former from Hierapolis. The entire population of the territory, whether or not they resided within the walls of the town, were equally styled *Λαοδικεῖς*; and the coinage is struck in the name of the corporate body, the *Λαοδικεῖς*. The Kapros was a tributary of the Maeander (Strab. p. 578): it therefore must be the river of Serai-Keui (that of Urumlu, two miles further east, is not so probable).

<sup>1</sup> Seitalkas see Imhoof MG p. 403.

<sup>2</sup> There were doubtless on the south side the Cibyratic Gate, and on the north (where two portals very near each other would suit almost equally well)

the Hierapolitan or Sardian Gate; but the only attested name is 'Syrian Gate' (Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* I 25).

<sup>3</sup> On the era A.D. 123, see § 6 b and 10.



The ELEINOS is probably the river that flows by Urumlu parallel to the Kapros (see p. 36). The name is doubtless the same as Selinos, at Ephesos and in Elis (Xenophon *Anab.* V 3, 8).

The ASOPOS washed the walls of Laodiceia; and it may confidently be identified as the stream which flows past the Ephesian Gates, and is now called Gumush-Tchai. The KADMOS was recognized both by Arundel and by Hamilton. It is now called Geuk-Bunar-Su. It is a rapid stream with a considerable body of water, draining both the Denizli district and also a deep gorge between M. Salbakos and M. Kadmos. The latter branch is now known as Tchukur-Tchai, from a village Tchukur-Keui on its upper waters. A *duden* (κατάβοθρον) on its course has been well described by A. H. Smith (JHS 1887 p. 224).

The name of the small water-course near the Syrian Gate is unknown.

The natural boundaries of Laodicean territory on the south and south-east are fixed by the lofty M. Salbakos and M. Kadmos. The small valley drained by the river Kadmos probably also belonged to it. The eastern boundary was probably the step that divides the lower from the upper Lycos valley.

The territory of Laodiceia seems to have been divided into *Xôroi*, of which the following are known:

1. ELEINOKAPRIA, mentioned inscr. 14, where a fine is made payable to the *Khôros*, probably derived its name from the fact that two rivers, Eleinos and Kapros, flowed through or by it. In that case it must have been the north-western part of the territory, including the district between the Kapros, which flows past Gereli and Serai-Keui, and the river Urumlu, which may be identified as the Eleinos. The name Eleinokapria probably occurs in an inscription of Eriza, no. 66. From inscr. 14 we learn that the *Khôros* had a corporate existence, and fines were payable to it. Probably the old Anatolian village-system, which existed till the Seleucid city was founded, left this trace of its presence. The population were indeed merged in the city, and all freemen, even though living in a village, were citizens of Laodiceia, and were legally designated according to their city and their tribe; but the *khôros* still retained a name and a certain individuality. Possibly it retained its existence as possessing a certain amount of land, which was the communal property of the villagers. Originally Asia Minor in general was organized on the village-system: a number of villages, each owning its own land, occupied the country round the central *hieron*, obeying the directions issued by the god through his priests. Parts of the territory were the actual property of the god, and the villages on these parts were inhabited by *hierodouloi*. Other parts were occupied by free villagers. But all listened



to the god and his priests, went to them for guidance, obeyed them, and were governed by them. The oriental never seeks for, or wishes, individual liberty: he prefers to be governed.

2. KILARAZOS is mentioned in inscr. 4, as erecting a tomb to one of its members (just as cities and corporations often did). If we may judge from the place where it was found, Kilarazos adjoined Eleinokapria, lying south-east from it and extending towards Denizli.

A coin shows Laodiceia<sup>1</sup>, a woman wearing a turreted crown, sitting between ΦΡΥΓΙΑ and ΚΑΡΙΑ, represented as two standing female figures. Now the ancient authorities are at variance whether Laodiceia belongs to Caria or to Phrygia. Ptolemy, Stephanus (s. v. Antiocheia), and the *Oracula Sibyllina* III 471 place it in Caria. Philostratus says (*Vit. Soph.* I 25) that Polemon was born at Laodiceia in Caria, but some pages later mentions that, in Polemon's later life, Laodiceia was classed to Phrygia<sup>2</sup>. We must then interpret the coin strictly in the sense that Laodiceia was actually a frontier city, touching Carian territory on one side. The Kapros then must have been the boundary of Caria. Now the term Caria must be understood under the Empire as defined by the limits of the *conventus* of Alabanda; and we thus infer that Attouda, Trapezopolis and Kidramos, which lay immediately to the west of Laodiceia, were in that *conventus* (pp. 168, 173 n, 85, 52).

The frontier of Caria was greatly changed at the provincial reorganization of Diocletian about A.D. 297. Attouda and Trapezopolis were attached to Phrygia, and the frontier then followed the long ridge of the Tchibuk-Dagh, which, rising from the Maeander valley opposite Ortakche, runs S.E. up into the lofty M. Salbakos.

§ 3. HISTORY, TRADE, FINANCE. Of its history under the Greek kings hardly anything is known; but it was apparently far from being a great city<sup>3</sup>. *Addenda*.

In 220 Achaeus assumed the crown and title of King at Laodiceia<sup>4</sup>. Beyond this it is hardly mentioned before 190 B.C., when it was assigned to Eumenes, as being part of Phrygia.

<sup>1</sup> The best description and representation is given by Schlosser *Numism. Zft.* 1891 p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Stephanus s. v. Λαοδίκεια, assigns it to Lydia. Polybius V 57, Strabo, Pliny, &c. treat it as Phrygian. Philostratus's statements might suggest that Laodiceia was actually transferred from Caria to Phrygia in Polemon's early life; but this can hardly be correct. Probably

Philostratus speaks as he does in order to explain a discrepancy in his authorities, some of whom mentioned Laodiceia as Carian, others as Phrygian. On the explanation of the divergence see § 7 c.

<sup>3</sup> Its prosperity dated ἐφ' ἡμῶν (i. e. since 64 B. C.) καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων πατέρων Strab. p. 578, a phrase which sums up the century B. C.

<sup>4</sup> He marched from Lydia against



Under the Pergamenian rule it was probably eclipsed by Tripolis, which was founded to support Pergamenian interests against the Seleucid Laodiceia. When the Roman rule began, it was still a small city. It sustained a siege at the hands of Mithridates in B.C. 88, being defended by Q. Oppius, the praetor, who had hastily occupied it with a small body of troops; but after a time the natives surrendered, and delivered Oppius over to the enemy. A Roman inscription (found on the Quirinal in 1637) probably relates to the resistance offered to Mithridates, and is the record of an embassy sent by the city in 81 to represent matters as favourably as possible<sup>1</sup>. The account given by Strabo would suggest that some ingenuity was needed to put the action of Laodiceia in a light quite satisfactory to the Romans, for he seems to have considered that Oppius was betrayed. But it was, apparently, able to set off its losses during the siege against the unfortunate ending; and the inscription shows the successful issue of the embassy and the gratitude of the city. Though it suffered during this siege, the Roman rule was on the whole highly favourable to its prosperity, which steadily increased. Tripolis, which had been a dangerous rival when Pergamos was the capital and roads converged towards Pergamos, lay off the line of the Eastern Highway, and lost almost all its importance.

Frequent references occur in the ancient writers to the earthquakes which devastated the Lycos valley<sup>2</sup>. Fellows observes about the bridge over the Asopos, that 'the uncemented stones have been shaken apart in a most singular manner, to be accounted for only by attributing it to an earthquake.' The city suffered severely in A.D. 60 under Nero<sup>3</sup>; but owing to its great wealth it quickly obliterated all traces without requiring any aid from the imperial government.

In other respects its history under the imperial rule was one of almost unbroken prosperity; and its annals during that time, if fully known, would consist chiefly of the record of dedications of public buildings, visits of emperors and proconsuls, and similar events. Only under Severus it seems to have been for a time in disgrace, § 10.

Antiochus in Syria, passing through Laodiceia and Lycaonia, Polyb. V 57.

<sup>1</sup> It is in Latin and Greek: the former is *populus Laodicensis af Lyco populo Romano quei sibi salutei fuit benefici ergo quae sibi benigne fecit* CIL I 587. Similar dedications of Ephesos, Lycia, and an unknown city, 588-9. Cp. Kaibel 987.

<sup>2</sup> *Orac. Sibyll.* IV 106 τλήμων Λαοδίκεια, σὲ δὲ τρώσει ποτὲ σεισμός.

<sup>3</sup> Tacitus *Ann.* XIV 27. The earthquake mentioned by Syncellus p. 636 and Orosius VII 7 as having destroyed Laodiceia, Colossai, and Hierapolis in 66 is probably the same. Another great earthquake in 494 A.D. devastated also Tripolis and Agathe Kome (p. 262; *Add.*).



Diocletian about A.D. 295 divided the vast province Asia into a number of smaller provinces. If we could trust Malalas, Diocletian would have instituted a single province Phrygia, which was afterwards divided into two<sup>1</sup> by Constantine; but it is certain that the subdivision was made before 325, and Diocletian is the probable author. Laodiceia may be assumed to have been the metropolis of the western province of Phrygia, which was called at first Great or Prima, while the other (metropolis Synnada) was called Small or Secunda; but towards the end of the fourth century the names Pacatiana and Salutaris were introduced and soon became universal. See Appendix III.

When the Themes were instituted Laodiceia was classed in the Thrakesian (p. 83).

Cistophori of the Greek type were struck at Laodiceia during the first seventy years of the Roman government. They are marked with ΛΑΟ on the left of the ordinary cistophoric type on the reverse<sup>2</sup>. This class of coins (which are often dated from 133 as era) ceased after 67 B.C.; and cistophori of the Roman type were substituted for them. Those which were struck at Laodiceia bear the names of both Roman and Greek officials.

T · AMPIUS · T · F · PROCOS (57–6 B.C.): ΘΛΑΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ.

P · LENTULUS · P · F · IMP (56–3 B.C.): ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ · ΔΑ-  
ΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ (province Cilicia, *Add.* 1).

AP · PULCHER · AP · F · PRO · COS (53–1 B.C.): ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ·  
ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ · ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ (province Cilicia).

M · TULLIUS · IMP (51–0 B.C.): ΛΑΒΑΣ · ΠΥΡΡΟΥ (Cilicia).

Laodiceia was one of the richest cities of Asia. It might say (as in the letter to the Church in Laodiceia), 'I am rich and have gotten riches, and have need of nothing<sup>3</sup>.' The city, from its central position, naturally became a centre of banking and financial transactions. Cicero intended to cash his bills of exchange there (*ad Fam.* III 5:

<sup>1</sup> Malalas XIII p. 323 is contradicted by the Verona list, which has Phrygia Prima and Secunda; and Mommsen rightly disbelieves him. See App. III on the formation and names of the two Phrygias.

<sup>2</sup> Magistrates' names occur on these coins, Apollonius Evarchi, Diodorus, Zeuxis Apollonii Amyntae, Olympiodorus Hermogenis, Sostratus, Di . . .

Nicodemi. See Pinder in *Berl. Akad. Abhandl.* 1855 p. 533 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Revelation* III 17. The boast in its self-sufficiency suits a city which needed no help from the imperial exchequer to recover from the devastation of an earthquake (*Tac. Ann.* XIV 27). The recollection of this proof of power and wealth remained fresh even in A.D. 90–95.



cp. II 17). Hence the letter to the Church says, 'I counsel thee to buy of me (not the gold of the bankers of Laodiceia, but) gold refined by fire that thou mayest become rich.' A brief account of the chief sources of its wealth and the staple of its trade may be appropriately added here.

The territory is fertile ; but under the Turkish occupation it has been allowed to pass to a large extent out of cultivation. The great marshes in the lower parts of the valley were doubtless drained and cultivated under the Empire. Still it is pretty certain that the Lycos valley could not grow enough of grain to support the population of so many great cities, and that a *Seitones*, to superintend and be responsible for the corn supply, must have been a much needed official in the state. Of the territory of Laodiceia, a considerable proportion is not fine arable land, viz. that hilly ground which lies between the Kadmos and the Kapros. Moreover the chief product of the country and a main source of its wealth was wool ; hence a large part of its territory must have been given up to pasture.

§ 4. WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES. It was however as a manufacturing, not as an agricultural, centre that Laodiceia became rich and great<sup>1</sup>. A fine kind of wool, soft in texture and glossy black in colour, grew on the Laodicean sheep ; and the manufacture of fine cloth, carpets, and various kinds of garments, was the chief occupation of the city<sup>2</sup>. A kind of small cheap cloak or upper garment, containing little cloth, which was widely used in the eastern provinces, was manufactured at Laodiceia, and called *Laodicia* or ἀπλᾶ ἱμάτια<sup>3</sup>. These cheap cloaks, which are mentioned in inscr. 8, were apparently worn fastened by a 'safety-pin' (*fibula*), and may probably be identified with the ἀπλᾶ φιβουλατώρια, which are mentioned in the Edict of Diocletian regarding Prices (16, 2).

Another species of upper garment woven at Laodiceia was the

<sup>1</sup> To the present day this district is one of the few parts of Turkey, in which any native manufactures have retained existence. The centres are now Kadi Keui and Bulladan.

<sup>2</sup> The colour was called κοραξίς, Strab. p. 578. A similar class of wool was produced at Colossai (Strabo l.c.) and at Canusium and Tarentum (Pliny VIII 73 (190) : cp. *Edict. Dioclet.* 16, 52 [ἐρέαν Τερρεν]τεινήν ἢ Λαδικηνήν).

<sup>3</sup> In the *Descriptio Orbis sub Constantio*, 24, we read of *maximam civitatem quae*

*Laodicia dicitur, de qua vestis exit nominata [quae dicitur] Laodicena*. Compare *Vestem solam et nominatam Laodicia emittit quae sic vocatur Laodiciam*, *Tot. Orb. Descr.* ; where Wadd. well explains *vestem solam* as a translation of ἀπλοῦν. The term ἀπλᾶ probably refers to the smallness of the cloak : v. Hesychius ἀπλοῦς, ἀπλοῖδες, μικρὸν ἱμάτιον. Further, Waddington quotes Jerome *adv. Jovin.* II 21, ed. Vallars, *lineis et Sericis vestibus et . . . Laodiceae indumentis ornatus incedis*.



*birros*, apparently of western origin. It was produced in two kinds, one of which was an imitation of the manufacture of the Nervii, who inhabited the country which is now French Flanders (Ed. Diocl. 16, 12, 13, 76). The imitation kind was finer and more expensive than the native Laodicean *birros*<sup>1</sup>.

Tunics or under-garments of two different kinds at least were made in Laodiceia. The *Delmaticae*<sup>2</sup> are described as plain, without embroidery or purple border. They were woven of three different threads, which probably differed in thickness or in colour, and thus produced a pattern. The stuff called at the present day *Greek* or *Smyrna muslin* is woven in two fine and one thick thread, the latter forming a series of stripes and at the same time giving the material the crinkled appearance which is noticeable in ancient Greek stuffs as they are represented both in marble and on vases<sup>3</sup>. Such three-thread tunics were called *trimita*; and the Laodicean *trimita* were so famous, that the city bears the epithet TRIMITARIA in some fourth and fifth century documents, e.g. the lists of the Council of Chalcedon.

The other class of tunics, called *paragaudia*, had a border of purple round the foot. A price was fixed for the plain part, and the value of the purple was added to this, varying according to the breadth<sup>4</sup>.

Another species of garment woven at Laodiceia (Ed. Diocl. III 22 Loring) called *Phainoula* was perhaps like the *paenulae* of the early Empire, a kind of outer garment, so woven as to resist rain. As Galba said (Quintilian VI 3, 66), *non pluit, non opus est tibi; si pluit ipse utar (paenula)*.

The *Chlanides*<sup>5</sup> were an imitation of the fine woollen stuffs of Modena<sup>6</sup>, and were embroidered with gold or silk. They were a sort of outer garment worn by both sexes. The art of embroidering was believed by the ancients to be native to Phrygia<sup>7</sup>.

Each different kind of garment was woven in its proper shape and

<sup>1</sup> Waddington 535 p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> 16, 14 Δελματική ἄσημος Λαοδικηνή τρίμιτος.

<sup>3</sup> In this sentence I quote in her own words the observation of Mrs. Ramsay. *Trimita* and *Fibulatoria* were also manufactured at Pessinus, as is shown by two fragments of an inscription, still unpublished, which I copied at Bala-Hissar and at Sivri Hissar in 1883.

<sup>4</sup> 16, 15 παραγαυδιν Λαοδικηνὸν προστιθεμένης τῆς τειμῆς τῆς πορφύρας τὰ ὑπό[λοι]πα ἐκλογεῖσθαι δεῖ . . .

<sup>5</sup> So probably; not *Chlamydes*: see Loring in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 p. 335.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Loring is certainly wrong in suggesting that it was the Laodicean manufacture that was imitated at Modena: the distinction is Μουτουνήσια θαλάσσια, sea-borne and therefore genuine Modenese, and Μουτουνήσια Λαοδικηνά, Laodicean Modenese.

<sup>7</sup> Hence in Latin *Phrygio* = embroiderer: cp. Pliny VIII 195. *Vestes Phrygiae* (*Aeneid* III 484) are embroidered garments, Blümner *Technol.* I 209.



way; the tailor was of small importance in ancient time, for the weaver was also the shaper of the garment. The trade of Laodiceia, therefore, was a trade in garments, rather than in cloth (such as a modern woollen manufacture would produce); and hence the weavers are ἀπλουργοί (no. 8), and we find in an inscription (BCH 1887 p. 352) a seller of garments (εἵματιοπώλης). In reference to this trade, the letter to the Church in Laodiceia says, 'I counsel thee to buy of me (not the glossy black garments of Laodiceia, but) white garments that thou mayest clothe thyself' (*Rev.* III 18). See p. 64 n 2.

The glossy black sheep seem to be now almost extinct. We have not observed many black sheep, and none that seemed glossy black; brown and mottled sheep are commoner. Chandler<sup>1</sup> says, 'Some shepherds came with their flocks to the ruins. I remarked only one or two, which were very black and glossy.' But Pococke<sup>2</sup> says, 'Strabo also takes notice that the sheep about Laodiceia are exceedingly black, which is very true, three parts of them being black in all the country from Naslee [near Mastaura] to this place, and some of them are black and white like the Ethiopian sheep.' These observations seem to show that through carelessness the breed has been mixed and allowed to degenerate and disappear.

§ 5. THE ZENONID FAMILY. Strabo attributes the prosperity of Laodiceia to two causes, the productiveness of its territory, and the good fortune of certain of its inhabitants; he takes no account of its place at a knot in the road-system of the country. His second reason seems rather strange to us; but great opportunities were opened to fortunate individuals about that time, and these successful Laodiceans no doubt gave liberally to their native city. Strabo mentions that a certain Hiero had left a legacy of 2,000 talents (about £210,000) to the state, and embellished it with many dedicatory works<sup>3</sup>. Similar conduct is attributed by Strabo to the great family of the Zenonidai. Zenon, a political orator of Laodiceia, encouraged the people to defend their city, when Labienus, in alliance with the Parthian king Pacorus, invaded Asia Minor. In reward for his successful exertions, his son Polemon Eusebes was made by Antony king of Lycaonia and part of Cilicia in B.C. 39, and king of Pontus in 38 or 37. His subsequent fortunes and that of his house, which for more than two centuries

<sup>1</sup> *Travels in Asia Minor* I p. 284, Oxford, 1825.

<sup>2</sup> *Description of the East* II part II p. 75, London, 1745.

<sup>3</sup> Another benefactor mentioned on coins was Julius Andronikos εὐεργέτης

(Nero); and such persons as Pythes (Augustus), Agrippinos (Hadrian), P. Aelius Dionysius Sabinianus (Antonines), L. Aelius Pigres (Caracalla), may be added to the list. *Addenda.*



was the greatest in Asia Minor, do not concern Laodiceia, except in so far as they enabled him to confer royal benefits on the city<sup>1</sup>. The family were presented with the Roman citizenship by Antony; and the names M. Antonius and Antonia were customary in it, though individuals who became kings or queens dropped the Roman part of their name<sup>2</sup>.

Part of the family continued to live at Laodiceia at the same time that some of its members were reigning as kings in Pontus, Thrace, Armenia, and Cilicia. They owned large property, and enjoyed special honours in their own city; and they retained their interest in its fortunes. Many members of it are mentioned on coins, e.g. Polemon in the time of Augustus, who is (as Waddington says) the 'Polemon, son of Zenon, of Laodiceia,' CIG 3524, who was priest of Rome and Augustus at Cyme sometime between 2 B.C. and 14 A.D. This Polemon lived on into the reign of Caligula. He bears the title or name *Φιλόπατρις* on coins. He must probably have been grandson of Zeno the Orator (who defended Laodiceia in 41), and nephew of Polemon, king of Pontus and Bosphorus (who was killed in battle B.C. 8)<sup>3</sup>. His son was M. Antonius Zenon, who was four times priest, a title which must be understood as priest of Zeus Laodiceus (see § 6 (g)). He is mentioned on coins of Claudius and Nero. On coins of Nero Zenon, son of Zenon, also is mentioned. He is probably son of the preceding. Claudia Zenonis, who is mentioned on coins of Domitian, may have been daughter of this last Zenon; and Julia Zenonis probably also belonged to this period, as C. Julius Kotys certainly did<sup>4</sup>.

One of the most striking and picturesque figures in the literary history of the Empire sprang from this family. This was M. Antonius Polemo, whose progresses in royal magnificence between the two towns which he favoured, Smyrna and his native city, are described by Philostratus. He travelled in a Phrygian or a Gallic chariot with silver reins, followed by multitudes of baggage-animals, riding-horses and attendants, and by troops of hunting-dogs of various kinds. The

<sup>1</sup> See the account given of his granddaughter Queen Tryphaena in my *Church in the Roman Empire* 376 ff and 427. The genealogy is most fully stated by Mommsen *Ephem. Epigr.* I 270 ff, II 259 ff; see also *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen l.c. argues that the name M. Antonius is not due to the enfranchisement by the triumvir, but to actual descent from him through Antonia, wife of Pythodorus; but the frequent occur-

rence of the name Antonius at Laodiceia is against this.

<sup>3</sup> Boeckh in his commentary on CIG 3524 identifies Polemon the priest with Polemon the king; but the latter had been killed ten or twenty years before the inscription was composed.

<sup>4</sup> M. Waddington, in the last letter I received from him, mentioned that C. Julius Kotys (with *praenomen* mentioned) occurs on a coin of Titus.



pride of the man who turned Antoninus, proconsul of Asia, the future emperor of Rome, out of his house in Smyrna at midnight, and who 'addressed cities as his inferiors, emperors as by no means his superiors, and the gods as his equals,' could be justified, if at all, only by his descent from the greatest family of Asia Minor. His name leaves no doubt as to his birth, though Philostratus only says that he belonged to a family several of whose members had been consuls. Smyrna was his favourite residence ; but he also took an interest in Laodiceia, and rendered services to the state whenever the opportunity occurred<sup>1</sup>. His name however never occurs on coins of his native city, though he is celebrated on coins of Smyrna, of Hadrian's reign, with the legend ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ · ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ · ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΙΣ.

When he was fifty-six years old, Polemon shut himself up alive in his family tomb beside the Syrian Gate at Laodiceia, though some said he was buried at Smyrna. His life may be dated about 90-146 A.D.

The honours and rewards given him by the Roman emperors were extraordinary. Trajan allowed him to use, both by sea and land, the arrangements of the imperial posting system, and Hadrian extended the privilege to all his descendants<sup>2</sup>. His great-grandson Hermokrates, when Septimius Severus bade him ask of him whatever he wished, replied that he had inherited from his great-grandfather the right of wearing a *stephanos*, and immunity from the civic burdens imposed on ordinary citizens, and the right to wear the purple<sup>3</sup>, and the rank of priest<sup>4</sup> (which conferred certain advantages and honours), and the right to partake in the public banquets<sup>5</sup>. Polemon's reputation as an orator was so great that Herodes Atticus declared he would esteem it a greater compliment to be styled 'a second Phrygian' than 'a second Demosthenes.'

The exact relationship of Polemon the rhetorician to the Zenonids whom we have mentioned cannot be determined ; but there was evidently a generation separating him from Zenon, son of Zenon. No

<sup>1</sup> Ἐπεσκοπεῖτο δὲ καὶ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν ὁ Πολέμων θαμίζων εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον καὶ δημοσίᾳ ὠφελῶν ὅ,τι ἡδύνατο, Philostr. *Soph.* I 25.

<sup>2</sup> Orders allowing private individuals to travel post (*diplomata*) were ordinarily limited in duration (probably to a single year) Pliny *Ep. ad Traj.* 45.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the Eumenian inscription *Mous. Smyrn.* no. ρξή', and Dio Chrys.

*ad Tars.* II 48, where he speaks of bad senators, στεφάνους καὶ προεδρίας καὶ πορφύρας διώκοντες : probably the purple stripe on the Roman senatorial tunic is meant.

<sup>4</sup> On this priesthood see p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Στεφάνους μὲν καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ σιτήσεις καὶ πορφύραν καὶ τὸ ἱερᾶσθαι ὁ πάππος ἡμῶν τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν, Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II 25, 5.



male member of that generation is mentioned unless Julius Kotys be placed in the gap. Claudia Zenonis comes in the interval. It is clear that Polemon belonged to the direct and elder line, for the property of the family seems to have been concentrated in his hands and those of his descendants.

The son of Antonius Polemon was named P. Claudius Attalos; and he was also a famous orator. He had two homes and two countries, Laodiceia and Smyrna, like his father. We have coins with the legend ΑΤΤΑΛΟC · CΟΦΙCΤΗC · ΤΑΙC · ΠΑΤΡΙCΙ · CΜΥΡ · ΛΑΟ. Other coins apparently commemorate a dedication for a victory (probably in the eastern campaigns of L. Verus) Π · ΚΑ · ΑΤΤΑΛΟC · ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ · ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ · ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ.

Kallisto, the daughter of P. Claudius Attalos, married Rufinianus of Phocaea, a man of consular rank; and their son was the celebrated orator Hermokrates, who was compelled by Septimius Severus to marry the daughter of L. Septimius Antipater, the Hierapolitan orator, a consular, private secretary of the emperor, and governor of Bithynia<sup>1</sup>. Hermokrates died aged 28, after squandering his vast property. His life may be placed about 185-213.

This account will give some idea of the society and the education of Laodiceia and Hierapolis in the second century<sup>2</sup>.

It appears from this list that the Laodicean Zenonids appropriated several names which came into the family through the marriage of Polemon Eusebes with Pythodoris. The descendants of Pythodoris had a right to the name Antonius, for she was grand-daughter of the Triumvir; but the other descendants of Zenon Rhetor are not known to have had a right to the name<sup>3</sup>. Kotys also was appropriated in the same way. The Laodicean branch was naturally proud of the royal connexion. The imperial names Julius, Julia, Claudius, Claudia, were also used in the family. The following genealogical table may be added for convenience, though many of the steps in it are very uncertain.

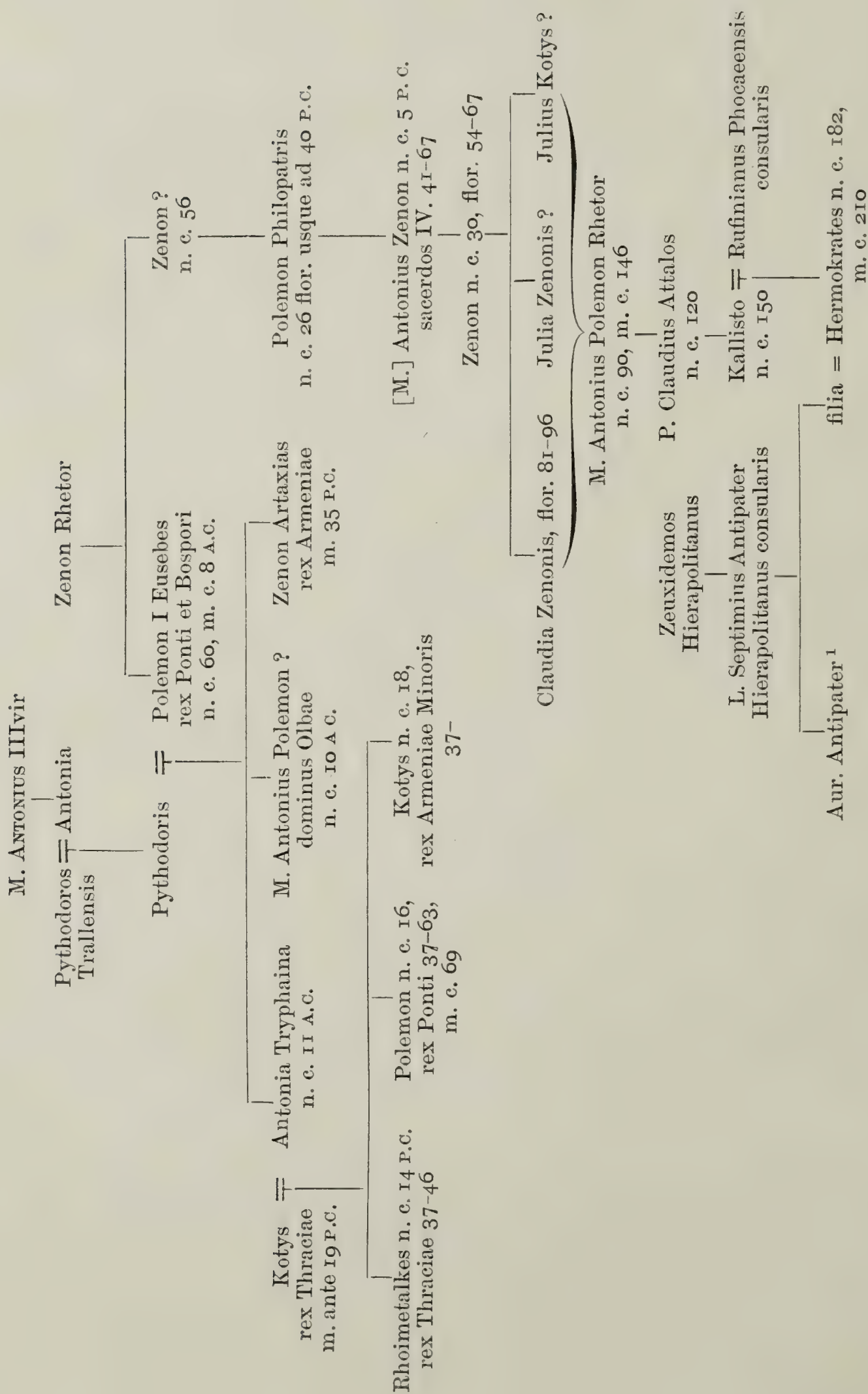
<sup>1</sup> [L.] Septimius Antipater, son of Zeuxidemos, apparently was made a citizen by the Emperor Severus (to whose sons he was tutor), and enrolled by him among the *consulares*. It is therefore certain that that emperor sent him to govern Bithynia. He was buried in his native city, Hierapolis. Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* II 24 and 25.

<sup>2</sup> Probably L. Antonius Hyacinthus,

mentioned in a Greek inscription of Rome (Kaibel 1402), did not belong to the same family as M. Antonius Polemon. He was Asiarch, praetor in Rome, and a citizen of Laodiceia of Asia. The names in a great family of Cibyra (Ch. VIII) are strikingly like those of this Laodicean family.

<sup>3</sup> Except that probably Zenon got *civitas* from Antony, p. 43 n. 2.





<sup>1</sup> Antipater is mentioned as strategos on a coin of Plautilla.



§ 6. THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS. A brief survey of the chief buildings of the city will be useful both for the historical student and the future explorer. In accordance with the period of its prosperity, the style of almost all the great buildings that can now be traced is Roman.

(a) THE STADIUM AMPHITHEATRUM. The stadium is situated between the Ephesian Gates and the southern corner of the city. It is about 900 feet long in the arena. The axis line is about N.W. to S.E. It was dedicated in the latter part of A.D. 79, after news of the death (July 23) and deification of Vespasian had been received, as we see from the dedicatory inscription, no. 3. It is called an amphitheatric stadium, as having both ends semicircular and rows of seats continuously round the whole circumference; whereas the proper Greek stadium had only one end rounded. Such buildings seem to have been common in Asia Minor; and hence we often find in *Acta Martyrum* that the building where shows of wild beasts were held is called indifferently stadium and amphitheatre.

(b) THE GYMNASIUM. Adjoining the stadium on the east is a large building, generally identified as a gymnasium<sup>1</sup>. The date of its erection is given by inscr. 1, a dedication to Hadrian and Sabina, in the proconsulship of Gargilius Antiquus. The dedication is probably connected with a visit of Hadrian to the city. Hadrian was at Laodiceia about November, A.D. 129<sup>2</sup>; but, if the dedication were as late as that, it would in all probability have contained some title indicating his identification with Zeus, which by that time had become a standing formula. But it is probable that Hadrian had already visited the city in A.D. 123<sup>3</sup>. Now, as M. Imhoof-Blumer says (GM p. 218), the city reckoned its era from A.D. 123<sup>4</sup>; and it is quite in accordance with analogy that it should date its chronology from a visit of Hadrian, as Athens did its years, and Tralleis its Olympiads<sup>5</sup>. It may therefore be suggested as probable (but not

<sup>1</sup> It seems far from certain that this building was a gymnasium.

<sup>2</sup> He wrote [ἀπὸ Λαοδίκειας τῆς ἐπὶ Λύκου] to the magistrates, senate and people of Astypalaia *a. d. V Kal.* [Dec.?]; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 p. 406.

<sup>3</sup> Durr, *Reisen des K. Hadrians* p. 52, makes him pass through the Lycos valley in that year. Durr's sketch of the journey, however, is topographically self-contradictory; and the idea that Hadrian visited Melitene, Satala, &c. in

winter is improbable, for his journey would have been frequently blocked by snow, which lies very deep in these regions.

<sup>4</sup> Kubitschek fixes the date as 125-9 (Pauly *Realencycl.* s.v. *Aera*) on reasoning which I am unable to understand. He ought to fix the limits as 123-129; but the exact year is fixed by the argument given below § 10 as 123-4.

<sup>5</sup> Durr l.c. p. 42. On Tralleis see my note in *Papers of American School at*



proved) that this great building was dedicated in A.D. 123-4 when Gargilius was proconsul<sup>1</sup>, in honour of a visit of Hadrian; and that the city began to reckon its years from the great event.

The remains of the edifice prove it to have been one of the greatest in Laodiceia. Chandler describes it as 'a most ample edifice . . . of many piers and arches of stone, with pedestals and marble fragments.' Pococke calls it 'a very grand building with doors from it leading to the galleries round the top of the Circus [Stadium]; I saw in it two pillars about a foot and a half in diameter, which appeared to me to be of oriental jasper-agate. There was an enclosed area to the north of it; on a lower ground to the west of this building there are remains of a colonnade leading to it.' Hamilton only says, 'a massive pile of building, the plan of which can be distinctly traced<sup>2</sup>.'

(c) THE WATER-SUPPLY. Among the most interesting remains of the old city are those of the water-supply, including a *castellum* near the south corner, and an aqueduct, which probably are not later, though they may be earlier, than the time of Hiero. The water was brought from the upper springs of a branch of the Kadmos which rises in Mount Salbakos near Denizli<sup>3</sup>. According to Hamilton, 'the remains . . . commence . . . near the summit of a low hill to the south, whence it is carried on arches of small square stones to the edge of the hill. From this hill the aqueduct crossed a valley before it reached the town, but instead of being carried over it on lofty arches . . . the water was conveyed down the hill in stone barrel-pipes. . . . I was able to trace them the whole way quite up to its former level in the town. . . . At the spot where it reaches the town is a high conical wall picturesquely covered with incrustations<sup>4</sup> and water-pipes of red clay, some of which are completely choked up; the remains of what appeared to have been another water-tower were not

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*Athens* I p. 103. Durr connects the legend on Magnesian coins 'Αδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Σαβείην Σεβαστήν with a visit of Hadrian in 123 A.D., which if correct would be in striking analogy with the Laodicean dedication.

<sup>1</sup> This date for the proconsulship conflicts with M. Waddington's list, in which the years from 120 to 130 are all filled up; but hardly any of his dates under Hadrian are certain, and he leaves a gap between 130 and 138. The year 1 was A.D. 123-4, and Gargilius might be proconsul either April 123-4 or 124-5.

<sup>2</sup> It is now much destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> Denizli means 'full of waters': Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie* p. 1798, gives the name in the form Thingozlou. I do not know whether this spelling is merely a bad rendering taken from a mediaeval authority, or a real early-Turkish form.

<sup>4</sup> The water was 'much charged with calcareous matter . . . The aqueduct on the hill appears to have been overthrown by an earthquake, as the remaining arches lean bodily on one side without being much broken.' Hamilton *Researches* I p. 515-6.



far distant.' The remains of the aqueduct might be followed up much further to the south than Hamilton says; his road brought him to them on the low hill. The water certainly comes from a much higher level than it attained at any place in the city. We, when standing at the water-tower, could trace the line of the water-pipes appearing on the slopes of several hills in a line stretching away to the south, and rising far above the level of the tower.

Pococke describes the water-channel as 'two feet in diameter, bored through stones, which are about three feet square, being let into one another': the rest of his description is inaccurate. Chandler only refers to 'a low duct, which has contained water.'

The *castellum*, or water-tower, is an interesting building. The duct is brought to a conical tower, and there rises almost perpendicularly to the height of about twelve feet. At this height the duct ends, and the water was exposed to the atmosphere. A number of terra-cotta pipes of less diameter than the main duct carry the water down: they slope a little, and this slope causes the conical shape of the tower. I have been told that similar devices for reducing the pressure of the water to the amount needed for distribution in the city are known and used at the present day in Asia Minor. The water comes from a great elevation, and the full pressure which this elevation gives it would break the terra-cotta distribution pipes. By allowing it to rise to a height sufficient to dominate the city and there opening it to the atmosphere before turning it into distribution pipes, this danger is obviated. At the same time, the supply can easily be cut off from any one of the distribution pipes in the *castellum*, without affecting the others<sup>1</sup>.

A little to the north of this *castellum* is another (also mentioned by Hamilton), which is of quite different character. All that remained of it in 1884 was an oblong structure of concrete, of considerable area, but only rising a few feet above the ground, in which were imbedded a number of water-pipes running in various directions.

(d) THE WALLS. The fortifications on the west, at least, were renovated under Domitian; see no. 5 and commentary on it.

(e) THE THEATRES OR ODEIA. There are three theatres of varying size in Laodiceia. No evidence exists as to the time when they were constructed, unless the inscription in large letters ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ associates the theatre on which it is placed with the orator, CIG 3944.

(f) TEMPLES. Few traces of temples have yet been discovered. It

<sup>1</sup> There is a water-tower at Aspendos; but the description given by Petersen attributes to it a different character and purpose, see Lanckoronski *Städte Pamphyliens* I p. 120.



is possible that in such a great centre of Christianity the traces of paganism were purposely destroyed<sup>1</sup>. M. Weber, however, marks the site of a small Ionic temple about 230 yards S.S.W. from the second theatre; and Fellows speaks of the foundations of several temples being visible<sup>2</sup>. Of their history and construction nothing is known.

There must of course have been a temple, probably the largest in the city, of Zeus Laodiceus; but as to its situation, period and form, nothing is recorded except that a white marble pavement in front of it was laid at the expense of Q. Pomponius Flaccus, who had filled many offices in the state, and was probably a Roman resident at Laodiceia, not a native that had gained the Roman citizenship<sup>3</sup>.

(g) STATUES. Zeus of Laodiceia was represented standing holding forth his right hand on which rests an eagle, and leaning with his left on a sceptre. The type is very common on coins, and was no doubt imitated from the temple-statue. The same type is found on the coins of other cities, both those which were near, such as Sala and Apollonos-Hieron, and also those cities which were distant like Tiberiopolis, Trajanopolis.

Laodiceia is often indicated on alliance-coins by its patron-deity, as Ephesos is by Artemis, Hierapolis by Apollo, &c. The statue (which doubtless stood in the chief temple of the city) is of the developed Greek type of the third century; and no archaic *xoanon* such as would probably be found in a really old Phrygian city, appears on the coins.

The types on some coins of Laodiceia may probably be taken from statues in prominent parts of the city. The following types especially seem to have been suggested by works of sculpture, Hypnos winged, and Aphrodite nude, lifting in either hand a long tress of her hair, standing between Eros and a dolphin. This subject will be treated more fully under AKMONIA.

<sup>1</sup> Many cases are recorded in which the Christians destroyed temples, e.g. that of Fortune at Caesareia of Cappadocia. It is possible that, where Christianity was the religion of the majority before the time of Constantine, and where the temples were maintained only by state-aid, the feeling against them was specially strong.

<sup>2</sup> On coins temples in honour of the victories of Domitian and Verus are mentioned, see § 8 and 5. On temples of the imperial cultus see § 8.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription recording this has been published in *Ath. Mitth.* 1891, p. 145 after a copy by M. Weber, but with a false transcription. It should be read *στρώσαντά τε παρ' ἐαυτοῦ ἔνπροσθεν τοῦ Διὸς [λευ]κολίθῳ*. The inscription probably belongs to the first century of the Empire. The phrase *οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἕλληνες*, which occurs in it, is considered by M. Guiraud as confined to the first century, *Assemblées Provinciales* p. 104 *table*; but it occurs in *inscr. Brit. Mus.* CCCCXCIII, which is of date 150-161 A.D.



§ 7. THE CULTUS. (a) ZEUS LAODICENUS. The priest of this central and official state-cultus must have been a very important official. He was called Priest of the City, as we gather from inscr. 3. It may also be assumed that this priesthood is meant, when Zenon of the great Zenonid family is styled 'Priest for the fourth time' on coins of Nero. Again, when a later descendant of the family boasted that the office of priest was hereditary in the family, he probably referred to this priesthood (see § 5). We are not to understand that a hereditary priesthood meant that the office was held by one person during his life and descended to his son for his life. In the cities of Greek style in Asia, the term denotes merely that members of the same family had often held the priesthood during several generations<sup>1</sup>; and here we may understand that the City-Priesthood had become almost an appanage of this great, rich, and generous family.

A festival of Zeus called  $\Delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  was celebrated at Laodiceia, which was also called  $\Delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$   $\Sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$ , when the worship of the Emperors was associated with that of the great god of the city (Inscr. Br. Mus. DCV, DCXV): see § 8.

(b) THE GODDESS. The goddess, whose part in the divine drama is implied, plays a very subordinate part in the public religion of Laodiceia, which alone is attested to us on the monuments; but in the Mysteries her rôle must have been important. The public religion consisted of a series of celebrations which had more of a historical than a religious origin. Hence to outward appearance a great variety existed in the religious forms of the Phrygian cities; but in the actual ceremonial there was probably no great diversity even in details, and practical identity in the general character. The goddess of Laodiceia is not actually named in any of our authorities; but she is represented on a coin, wearing a double chiton, standing towards the left: the *kalathos* is on her head, the crescent of the moon-goddess on her shoulders<sup>2</sup>; with her right hand she presents a *patera* to a serpent which is twined round her left arm, and in her left hand she has a *cornucopia*. A griffon stands before her.

Nicetas<sup>3</sup> tells about the worship of the viper at Laodiceia in almost exactly the same terms generally used to describe the viper of Hierapolis. It is possible that he has transferred the account from the

<sup>1</sup>  $\Delta\iota\alpha$   $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\iota\epsilon\rho\omega\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$  cp. Fränkel *Inscr. Pergam.* I 248 p. 170. See also BCH 1891 p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Another coin represents her as winged, not wearing the crescent (Imhoof MG p. 409); but I believe that

the crescent is due to the misunderstanding of the archaic wings in later times (Ch. IX § 5).

<sup>3</sup> Nicetas Paphlago *ap. Combefis. in Auctario PP. Novissimo* p. 383, which I quote after Lipsius.



one city to the other ; but it is probable that the serpent played the same part in the divine drama in both cities (Ch. III).

(c) ASKLEPIOS-WORSHIP. Asklepios enjoyed great honours at Laodiceia. He has frequently a place on coins ; and a festival with games ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΕΙΑ was celebrated. This god seems, however, to be merely a grecized form of Men Karou, who had a temple in the territory of Attouda about 13 miles west of Laodiceia (Ch. V § 5)<sup>1</sup>. In connexion with this temple there grew up, as Strabo says, a famous school of medicine, which in his time (64 B.C.—19 A.D.) was directed by Zeuxis and Alexander Philalethes successively. The school had its seat, apparently, at Laodiceia, for coins of Laodiceia under Augustus have the legends ΖΕΥΞΙΣ and ΖΕΥΞΙΣ·ΦΙΛΑΛΗΘΗΣ, and the type either of Zeus or of the staff of Asklepios, encircled by serpents. It is possible that a passage in the letter to the Laodicean Church may refer to this medical school, ‘I counsel thee to buy of me eyesalve to anoint thine eyes that thou mayest see’ (Rev. III 18). The appositeness of the other allusions in this verse (see § 3 and 4) suggests that this reference also has some special appropriateness to Laodiceia. Now an article called ‘Phrygian Powder’ (τέφρα Φρυγία)<sup>2</sup>, was used by the ancient physicians to cure weakness of the eyes ; and we may probably infer that the powder was made in Laodiceia, and that the physicians of Laodiceia were skilled as oculists. This school maintained the principles of Herophilos (c. 330–250), ‘who (on the principle that compound diseases require compound medicines) began that strange system of heterogeneous mixtures, some of which have only lately been expelled from our own Pharmacopoeia’ (Dr. Greenhill in *Smith’s Dict. Biogr.*).

While the temple of Men Karou therefore is mentioned on the coins of Attouda (Ch. V § 4), the school attached to the temple belonged to Laodiceia and is mentioned on its coins in the persons of its leaders. We must infer from this that Men Karou was originally the god of the territory in which Laodiceia was founded<sup>3</sup>, and that Zeus Laodiceus was the form given to this primitive divinity when the Hellenic Seleucid colony was formed and the old worship was hellenized. The god of the country, according to the native belief,

<sup>1</sup> The Asklepieia were probably connected in part at least with the temple of Men Karou, whereas the Deia were connected with that of Zeus Laodiceus.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. Arist. *Mirab.* c. 55. It seems to have been a preparation from bronze.

<sup>3</sup> It is also evident that the *hieron* was

close to the territory of both cities ; and we have seen that the Kapros, which bounded the territory of Laodiceia, was close to the *hieron*. Compare the interest claimed by Hierapolis and Dionysopolis in the *hieron* of Lairbenos IV § 2.



must be the source of any commands regarding his country and people. At the foundation of any Greek colony, the sanction of the native god was obtained<sup>1</sup> in order to give legitimacy to the new city in the eyes of the natives; and a state-cultus was formed in which the god of the country had a prominent, often a dominant and almost exclusive, part. The official names and forms of the state-cultus were, however, expressed in the hellenized style suitable to a hellenic colony.

It becomes obvious from this exposition why Laodiceia was long felt to be a Carian city, § 2. It was planted on Carian soil; and probably it was only the influence of Roman classification (which assigned it in defiance of history and ethnology<sup>2</sup> to the Cibyratic *conventus*) that led to its being closely connected with the Phrygian cities and ultimately reckoned as Phrygian.

(d) APOLLO. Apolline types hardly occur (in which respect a striking contrast with Hierapolis is observable); but a festival ΠΥΘΙΑ is mentioned on coins. Are we to suppose that this was a distinct festival from the Δεῖα of inscriptions, or that both titles were used at different times for the same ceremonial?

§ 8. THE IMPERIAL CULTUS. This is perhaps the most important point in the organization of the Roman cities of Asia. The imperial policy of romanizing the provincial cities culminated in the imperial cultus, which was intended to be the bond holding together the whole heterogeneous empire. Patriotism appears in ancient times either associated with or under the guise of religion; ordinary religions were national; but the Emperors required a religion that should be wider than national and accepted by all the various nations which were united under their rule. This religion they created under the form, first, of the worship of Rome and Augustus<sup>3</sup>, and afterwards under many other forms. Laodiceia, as an important administrative centre, must have been a centre of this political religion; but few and scanty traces remain of its organization.

The festival of Zeus of Laodiceia at some period before about 150, was transformed into a festival of the conjoint worship of Zeus and the Emperors. Victories are mentioned in the Δεῖα Σεβαστὰ Οἴκου-

<sup>1</sup> See § 1 on the foundation of Laodiceia, and IV 3 on the foundation of Dionysopolis. There is every appearance that the Seleucid colonies were more foreign in type than the Pergamian, as is seen by a comparison of the two foundation-legends. The native population had probably a larger share in the latter colonies than in the former.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo p. 629 mentions this fact, τὸ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους μὴ κατὰ φύλα διελεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ ἕτερον τρόπον διατάξαι τὰς διοικήσεις.

<sup>3</sup> The first temple of Rome and Augustus was dedicated at Pergamos. Others afterwards were constructed at Cyme CIG 3524, Mylasa 2696, Nysa 2943, Athens 478, Ancyra Galatiae, Cyzicos, &c. *Addenda.*



μενικὰ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀγενείων πυγμ[ήν]<sup>1</sup>. The transformation was necessarily coincident with the reception of the imperial worship in the temple of Zeus Laodiceus. This event is an example of a custom which was widely spread in the cities of Asia Minor. The Emperors or some individual Emperor were worshipped in one, or more than one, of the temples in each city; and they were, as a rule, named in the dedicatory inscriptions before the original deity in each case. In this way the imperial cultus worked itself into the existing religious system of the country. The Emperor and the native deity entered into intimate association; in many cases the two were actually identified, and the Emperor was represented as the deity incarnate in human form. As examples of the identification of an individual Emperor with a native Anatolian deity, we may quote (1) the worship of the Hero Caesar at Nikaia Bithyniae<sup>2</sup>, where in 29 B.C. a *temenos* was dedicated to him, and he was represented as Men or Sabazios, wearing a Phrygian cap, and riding on a horse which raises its right forefoot (the regular attitude of sepulchral hero-statues or reliefs): the right forefoot of the horse was a human hand, the left a human foot<sup>3</sup>. (2) After Julia, wife of Agrippa, was in Lesbos 23-1 B.C., we find her identified with Aphrodite Geneteira (perhaps invented on the analogy of Venus Genitrix) at Eresos<sup>4</sup>; and at Ira-Hiera Ἰουλία Ἀφροδίτη took the place of an old-established cult of Aphrodite<sup>5</sup>. (3) Livia and Tiberius seem to have been identified with the divine Mother-goddess and her Son (Ch. III) at Tiberiopolis of Phrygia (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 147). (4) Agrippina appears in Lesbos as θεὰ Αἰολὶς Καρποφόρος<sup>6</sup>. (5) Caracalla appears as Men at Juliopolis<sup>7</sup>. (6) Many more famous identifications occur, e.g. Domitian and Hadrian as Zeus.

Besides taking its place within the previously existing foundations of the native religion, the imperial cultus appeared in several other forms in the cities of Asia; (1) sporadic institutions, (2) foundations made by the Council of the whole Province (*Κοινὸν Ἀσίας, Commune Asiae*), (3) the Neokorate § 10.

<sup>1</sup> B.M. DCV, dating about 130-50 A.D. (by a slip Mr. Hicks, who puts DCV under Hadrian, dates DCIV about 150-200, though it belongs to the same year as DCV or is even earlier). In B.M. DCXV, which dates near the end of the second century, the title Σεβαστά is omitted ἐν Λαδικείᾳ ἀνδρῶν Δεῖα.

<sup>2</sup> Roscher ἵππος βοτόπους in *Berichte Verhandl. Leipzig* 1892 p. 96 f.

<sup>3</sup> Roscher quotes Pliny VIII 155, that

Caesar's horse *humanis similes pedes priores habuisse*; also Solinus p. 193, 22, ed. Mommsen, and Cedrenus I p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> Tümpel in *Philologus* 1890 p. 735, 1891 p. 566; Conze *Reise auf Lesbos* XVII 2; Collitz *Dialektinschr.* 1, 90, 220.

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 p. 63; θεὰ Βολλῆα Αἰ. Καρπ. Ἀγριππείνα *ib.* 1886 p. 282.

<sup>7</sup> Roscher l.c. p. 147.



Sporadic foundations connected with the imperial cultus were made in many, probably in all the great, cities of Asia Minor. So in Laodiceia a temple commemorating the victories of Domitian seems to have been built by Dioskourides. Coins with the legend ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC · ΚΑΙCΑΡ · CΕΒΑCΤΟC · ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟC · ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑ · CΕΒΑCΤΗ, have as the reverse type a tetrastyle temple (whose frieze is inscribed ΕΠΙΝΕΙΚΙΟC [νεώς]) with the name of Dioskourides<sup>1</sup>. Within the temple stand the emperor and empress facing each other, and in one case supporting between them a trophy, in another case holding each the hand of the other. These coins show that a temple was built by Dioskourides at Laodiceia in honour of the victories from which Domitian took the title Germanicus in 84 A.D.<sup>2</sup> A similar dedication in honour of the victories of Verus is mentioned above, § 5.

The Koinon of Asia held meetings in Laodiceia, as we learn from coins and from an inscription of Ephesos, dating before the middle of the second century<sup>3</sup>. It was usually the case that such meetings were connected with a temple founded by the Koinon in the city where the meeting was held; and a high-priest of the province was appointed for the temple. But no proof of such a temple or official exists. It is possible that there may yet be found some reference to an ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ<sup>4</sup>, but for the present, considering how obscure the Asiarchate is, we cannot assume that such a temple existed. The celebration of the games by the Koinon may have been connected with the city-temple, though no example of such an arrangement is known. The Koinon held its festival according to some unknown system of rotation in a small number of the principal cities of the province, Ephesos, Smyrna, Pergamos, Sardis, Philadelphieia, Laodiceia, Cyzicos, and perhaps others<sup>5</sup>. All arrangements connected with the Koinon are provincial, i.e. are ordered by the province and not merely by the city in which they were celebrated.

§ 9. CORONATUS, STEPHANEPHOROS. The practice of giving gladiatorial exhibitions at Laodiceia is certainly connected with the imperial

<sup>1</sup> On the enigmatic monogram, probably κορ, possibly κρο, accompanying the name of Dioskourides and others, see below p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> N.W. from Laodiceia, on the Lydo-Phrygian frontier, Sala took the name Domitianopolis. Keretapa, to S.E., was entitled Diocaesareia in the same reign. The interpretation in the text is that of M. Imhoof-Blumer MG p. 405.

<sup>3</sup> Inscr. Br. Mus. DCV.

<sup>4</sup> The legend on coins, Α. Αἰλ(ιος) Πίγρης ἀσιάρχης γ' Λαοδικέων νεωκόρων, perhaps denotes an Asiarch of the Laodicean temple of the Koinon: these coins were struck under Caracalla.

<sup>5</sup> It is to be noted that none of these seats of the Koinon were in upper Phrygia: but the Koinon of Phrygia (on coins of Apameia) perhaps replaced the provincial Koinon in that country.



cultus. Gladiators and exhibitions of beasts (*venationes*) were part of the imperial machinery for romanizing the provinces<sup>1</sup>. Diokles, who was High-priest and Stephanephoros, and presided at a gladiatorial show (inser. 10), must have been an official of the imperial cultus. According to the principle laid down by Mommsen in his masterly discussion of the subject<sup>2</sup>, he must have been a provincial official, not a mere municipal official; but in commenting on the inscription I have advanced reasons for thinking that this rule did not hold absolutely in Asia. Diokles was then high-priest, wearing the crown with the image of Caesar, in a Laodicean cultus of the Emperors. He may be compared with Alexander at Antioch of Pisidia, described in the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*<sup>3</sup>; and it is a proof of the historical groundwork on which that romance rests, that we turn to it for the most vivid and instructive picture of this whole subject that has come down to us. See p. 76.

The high-priests of the imperial cultus wore a laurel wreath of gold bearing in front a 'medallion of the reigning Augustus. The portrait-bust of the Vatican Museum no. 280, miscalled of the aged Augustus, carries such a wreath as is described by the Armenian *Acta* of Thekla (the golden crown of the figure of Caesar). It is probably a portrait of some provincial priest of the Caesar-worship under the Antonines<sup>4</sup>. The priests of the imperial cultus were dressed in the robes of the emperor (i.e. the priest wore the robe and represented the person of the god), except that their crowns (while resembling his in other respects) bore the image of Caesar Augustus on them. The term *coronatus* was sometimes used to indicate such a priest, wearing his official crown<sup>5</sup>.

The name Stephanephoros occurs in two different senses, (1) denoting an official of the imperial cultus, as in the case of Diokles, (2) denoting a municipal officer of a kind found in many cities, e.g. Nysa, Smyrna, Iasos, &c. In the city of Iasos the eponymous magistrate was so styled; and sometimes he is termed more fully *στέφανηφόρος Ἀπόλλωνος*. Now a dedication to Apollo Stephanephoros has been found at Iasos, so that we may be sure that this eponymous magistrate was the representative (originally the priest) of Apollo, and wore the dress of the god. We find at Iasos also a *στέφανηφόρος Ἀθηνᾶ Ἀστιάδος*,

<sup>1</sup> *Church in Emp.* p. 396.

<sup>2</sup> *Ephem. Epigr.* VII p. 400 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Church in Emp.* Ch. XVI.

<sup>4</sup> I quote here from Mr. Conybeare's *Monuments of Early Christianity* p. 88 and 354. See Suetonius *Vit. Domit.* 4

and Bernoulli *Röm. Ikonogr.* II 30.

<sup>5</sup> Firmicus *de err. prof. relig.* III 14. Mr. Rushforth thus explains the *Quattuor Coronati*, the martyrs of Sirmium; and so Prof. O. Hirschfeld has done.



evidently another garland-wearing priest<sup>1</sup>. At Nysa the stephanephoros was probably the representative of the ancient power of the priest of the great *hieron* beside the Ploutonion. See p. 103.

The right of wearing a crown (*στέφανος*) was hereditary in the Zenonid family; but it is not stated which kind is meant. As the Zenonids boasted of their hereditary priesthood in addition to the right of the *stephanos* (see § 5 and 7 a), it is possible that the latter is the ornament pertaining to the imperial cultus<sup>2</sup>; but more probably, in the boastful language characteristic of the Asian Greek cities, the priesthood and the *stephanos* are mentioned separately, though they belong to one office, viz. that of the priest of the city and its god.

The imperial crown probably affords a clue to explain the enigmatic title on coins of Laodiceia, usually in monogram which may be interpreted with confidence as *Kop*. Resolving the monogram, we have the following names:

1. KOP · ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ under Augustus.
2. KOP · ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ · ΤΟ · ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ under Augustus.
3. KO · ΑΙΝΕΙΑΣ under Nero (also KOP).
4. ΔΙΑ · KOP · ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ under Domitian (see p. 55).

This monogram<sup>3</sup> appears to indicate a title of honour (not necessarily a magistracy, for the formula with ΔΙΑ does not imply a magistracy, but merely a voluntary expense on the part of the individual mentioned). It was a terminable title, which might be held twice, as in the case of Dioscourides<sup>4</sup>. The hypothesis that seems least open to objection is that which Prof. Mommsen suggests to me by letter. The title which is intended is perhaps a grecized form of Coronatus, and is equivalent to the more usual *στέφανηφόρος*.

It is true that in the inscription just quoted Diokles, who wore this imperial crown, is called Stephanephoros; but it seems possible that the advantage of making a distinction from the mere municipal Stephanephoros may have led to the use of the Latin term on coins as more honourable.

<sup>1</sup> See Th. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 pp. 156, 186.

<sup>2</sup> 'Hereditary' is to be understood in the sense already explained, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> M. Imhoof-Blumer informs me privately that he has given up his suggestion *Kop(νικουλάριος)*, which is on many grounds objectionable. The suggestion made privately to me by a high authority that the name of a great Laodicean family is intended

seems also unacceptable. The ideas that occurred to me, *Kop(υνηφόρος)* as a head of police (*κορυνηφόροι*) like *Παραφύλαξ* (chief of *παραφυλακῆται*), and *Κοῦρ(άτωρ)*, understanding that Y may be got in a monogram from the two oblique strokes of K, also seem unacceptable. See p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> The legend of (2) cannot mean Dioscorides son of Dioscorides, which would be *Διοσκουρίδης δῖς*.



This explanation of KOP resorts to the supposition of a custom elsewhere unknown; but the abbreviation is unique, and seems to have no relation to any office or institution which is known elsewhere.

§ 10. THE NEOKORATE. The position of Neokoros, of which Laodiceia, like many other cities in Asia, boasted, is obscure in some respects. It is clear that the expressions 'Neokoros' and 'Neokoros of the Emperors' are generally equivalent; i.e. the title Neokoros is connected with the worship of the Emperors<sup>1</sup>. It is also well-established that the title (which was conferred by decree of the Senate) was coincident with the building of a temple and the institution of games in honour of some Emperor. The mere reception of an Emperor into the temple of any older god (as *σύνναος*) was not sufficient: the temple must be built for him alone. When a second temple and the accompanying games were instituted (by leave of the Senate) in honour of some later emperor or emperors, the city became *δὲς Νεωκόρος*; when a third foundation was made, *τρίς Νεωκόρος*; and so on.

The question has been keenly debated whether the Neokorate temples were founded by the city or by the Koinon of Asia in the city. Büchner in his valuable treatise *de Neokoria* has maintained that the temple was dedicated by the Koinon, and that the games connected with the first Neokorate were the *Κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν τῇ πόλει*. He holds, however, that games for a second and third Neokorate must be distinguished from the *Κοινὰ Ἀσίας*<sup>2</sup>. The facts connected with the Laodicean Neokorate decisively refute this view. Games of the Koinon took place there (see p. 55) as early as the first half of the second century; but it was not until the time of Commodus that the city received the title Neokoros, and this honour was coincident with the foundation of a temple to that emperor and of the festival KOMMOΔΕΙΑ

<sup>1</sup> The word is an old religious term adopted and developed in the imperial cultus. Ephesos boasted the title of 'temple-sweeper of Artemis' in the middle of the first century of our era *Acts* XIX 35; the fact (on which Büchner *de Neocoria* p. 23 lays much stress) that cities do not call themselves *Neokoros* of a god on extant coins or inscriptions till the third century, is of little importance, showing merely that the love for cumulating honorific titles became stronger among the Asian cities

as time went on.

<sup>2</sup> M. Monceaux *de communi Asiae provinciae* 1886 p. 24 takes our view of the Neokorate, but does not advance any conclusive argument. Another argument against Büchner is furnished by Ephesos. When T. Aurelius Fulvius Antoninus was proconsul of Asia, about 135 A. D., there was only one temple of the Koinon in Ephesos, and the second was probably built under Antoninus; but the second Neokorate was granted under Hadrian, *Class. Rev.* 1889 p. 175.



mentioned on his coins. No coins of Commodus mention the Neokorate: but under Caracalla we find the legend ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ · ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ · ΔΟΓΜΑΤΙ · CYNΚΛΗΤΟΥ · ΚΟΜΟΔΟΥ · ΚΕ · ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ, which shows that Caracalla was received into the temple of Commodus to be *σύνναος καὶ σύνβωμος* with him. This reception is probably to be explained by a remark of Eckhel's. He points out that no coins of Laodiceia with the name of Septimius Severus are known. In the rich coinage of the city, this omission can hardly be accidental; and Eckhel inferred that Laodiceia had taken a prominent part on the side of Pescennius Niger, and been punished by Severus with certain penalties, including the loss of the right of coinage. Asia was for a short time held by Pescennius, and his name seems to have remained attached to a village between Apollonia and Antioch of Pisidia (JHS 1883 p. 34). Laodiceia must have been held by Pescennius, and, as it was a strong fortress, it would be likely to be held in strength and perhaps to resist Severus<sup>1</sup>. The contrasted case of Laodiceia in Syria, which was made a metropolis and entitled Septimia because it had resisted Pescennius Niger, shows how much importance was attached by Severus to the conduct of the eastern cities towards his rival. He also was with difficulty induced to pardon Alexandria because it had sided with Niger (Malalas XII p. 293).

The penalties inflicted, according to this theory, on Laodiceia were remitted by Caracalla, probably at the time of his accession to sole power in February 211. The renewed liberty and happiness of the city and their gratitude to the emperor, are attested by their adding the worship of Caracalla to that of Commodus, by the very rich series of coins struck under Caracalla, and especially by the type and legend on one: ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΣ · ΚΑΙΡΟΙ · ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ · ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ. This legend, usually interpreted, on account of the type of four boys which accompanies it, as referring to the four Seasons, has been explained with much greater probability by M. Babelon<sup>2</sup> as a rendering of the Latin legend FELICIA · TEMPORA, frequently used on Roman

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand Hierapolis struck numerous coins under Severus, and probably received the honour of the Neokorate under him; though the favour shown it may have been due in part to the influence of L. Septimius Antipater § 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Rev. Numism.* 1891 p. 31. Compare the coins of Commodus and Marcia, and

Annius Verus and Commodus, with TEMPORVM · FELICITAS and the type of four boys representing the four Seasons. Similarly in an inscription of Magnesia on the Maeander the words occur ἐν τοῖς εὐτυχισταῖς καιροῖς τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ BCH 1888 p. 206.



coins. This explanation suits admirably with Eckhel's theory just stated. The date ΠΗ, which occurs so often on coins, both imperial and autonomous, struck under Caracalla, is A.D. 211<sup>1</sup>. The legend *Λαοδικέων τὸ πη'* is then equivalent to *εὐτυχεῖς καιροὶ Λαοδικέων*, 'the beginning of the prosperous time for the city of the Laodiceans.'

A dedication, probably made to Caracalla A.D. 214-7, by the *neokoros* city of Laodiceia, has been found at Rome (Kaibel 1063): it is erected under care of Aelius Antipater Rhodon and Aelius Antipater Kollegas<sup>2</sup>.

§ 11. TRIBES AND DEMOS. The population of Laodiceia was divided into an unknown number of tribes, of which three are known, Apollonis, Athenais, and Laodikis<sup>3</sup>. The last is obviously named after the queen of Antiochus II<sup>4</sup>, and (like the Ephesioi in Ephesos) was probably the first and most honourable tribe on the list. Doubtless a cultus and priesthood of Laodike was instituted when the city was founded (§ 1). The relations of the various sections of the population, colonist and native, to each other are obscure.

The deliberative bodies in Laodiceia were, as usual, Senate and Demos. As to the latter nothing is known; but, according to analogy, it would be an unimportant body, which met to accept proposals drawn up by the *grammateus* and *strategoi* and approved by the Senate.

§ 12. SENATE. The most important question regarding the Senate is whether it had a constitution like the Greek *boule* or like the Roman *senatus*. It is certain that before the Roman period the senate in the cities of Asia was chosen by the people for a certain term (doubtless a year) according to the tribes (so many senators from each tribe); and also that in later time the senators in these cities were appointed in the Roman way for life, and constituted an order. The points on which evidence is needed are (1) when was the change made from the Greek to the Roman system? (2) was it made in all cities simultaneously (in which case it must have been made under orders from the Roman government), or did it take place at different times in different cities? (3) was it made by a single complete change, or (as Mr. Hicks is inclined to think<sup>5</sup>) by a gradual romanization of the Senate.

<sup>1</sup> It is calculated from the era 123 A.D., § 6 (b).

<sup>2</sup> Kaibel rather oddly understands this to mean 'Aelius Antipater his colleague.' In a Greek inscription Kollegas must be treated as a proper name.

<sup>3</sup> Apollonis, *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 146; Laodikis, inser. 9: Athenais BCH 1887 p. 353 (the published text should prob-

ably be completed [θ]έ[σ]ιν M. Aὐρ. κ.τ.λ.: epitaphs with this formula are probably Christian). Tribes Athenais also at Nyssa, Eumenia, and Apollonis at a Bithynian city (Wadd. 1183).

<sup>4</sup> On this queen see Ch. VIII § 2 and 5.

<sup>5</sup> See his valuable essay on the constitution of Ephesos, *Inscr. Brit. Mus.* III p. 73.



The evidence as to the constitution of the Senate at Laodiceia is scanty and indirect. The romanization of the Senate involved certain other changes; when the Senate ceased to be popularly elected, the Roman method of periodically revising the lists was substituted. The officials who did so were perhaps (if we may judge from analogy) the ordinary chief board of magistrates, who for the special occasion were invested with the proper authority. Like the *Iiviri quinquennales* of Italian cities, penteteric *strategoi* may be looked for in the function of censors or revisers of the list (λογισταί, ἐξετασταί)<sup>1</sup>. If any indication of such an institution can be found, we may infer that the Roman system had come into use. Further, in the Roman system the list of senators was arranged in order of seniority. The revisers periodically filled up the list, introducing those who had been magistrates since the last revision (and who had already *ex officio* taken their seats), and completing it in case of need by adding persons who fulfilled the required conditions<sup>2</sup>. The persons who had filled the highest offices of the state came first on the list. The ten who were placed at the beginning had special distinctions and powers, and were named *Decemprimi* (§ 13). Wherever, therefore, we can detect any sign of the existence of a senatorial order or of revision and revisers of the list, or of arrangement of the list according to rank or seniority, the senate must have been remodelled more or less completely on the Roman system<sup>3</sup>. On the other hand, since the Greek senate was chosen according to tribes, it seems to follow that, where we can detect any sign that the list was kept, or the senators classed, according to tribes, or that the presidency passed round the tribes in succession, the senate was of the Greek type.

It therefore seems probable that at the time when inscr. 7 was engraved the Senate was organized on the original Greek system. Here Menander bequeaths a sum to the tribe Apollonis of the Senate, i. e. the part of the Senate which was selected from that tribe.

It is unfortunate that the date of the inscriptions quoted here and in § 13 is uncertain. Inscr. 7 can hardly be later than the first century; the names suit that period. A woman called Dometia was probably born not later than A.D. 68; and the other names would be perfectly consistent even with an earlier date. On the whole 70-100 seems a fair guess; and we may infer as probable that the Laodicean Senate

<sup>1</sup> Or, as the board of *strategoi* was probably large, one or two of the highest *strategoi* may have acted as ἐξετασταί.

scrutiny (δοκιμασία) conducted by the revising officials: the conditions related to age, property, honourable occupation, and free birth.

<sup>2</sup> Each senator had to submit to a

<sup>3</sup> So in no. 6, see p. 63.



was romanized after that time. The mutilated inscription, no. 6, affords no sure criterion of date, but is not likely to be earlier than the second century. Now Mr. Hicks has brought out the probability that in A.D. 106 the Ephesian Senate of 450 members was formed by electing 75 from each tribe; and, as he thinks, it must have been organized on the Greek model<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand Hadrian in 129 wrote to the Ephesian Senate requesting them to admit L. Erastus; and the analogy of cases in the Bithynian senates forces us to infer that the constitution was of the same type; and the Bithynian senates had been of the Roman type since the Lex Pompeia, B.C. 64<sup>2</sup>. Between 106 and 129, therefore, a change perhaps occurred in Ephesos from the Greek to the Roman type; and the two Laodicean inscriptions point to a change having occurred in Laodiceia about the same period. Marquardt, on the contrary, considers that the senate of Miletos, Ephesos, and Cyzicos was Greek in type as late as the time of the Antonines<sup>3</sup>. We must wait for further evidence; but it seems clear that the senate of Temnos was Roman in type in the time of Cicero (*p. Flac.* 18, 43).

The honour of serving on the senate was accompanied by heavy burdens. Entry-money was required from new members, at first only from those who were added beyond the proper number (Pliny *ad Traj.* 39), later from all<sup>4</sup>. They were forced to be personally

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hicks, indeed, considers that the proportion, seventy-five per tribe, was always maintained, even after the senate was romanized. Pliny *Epist. ad Traj.* 39 shows that romanized senates had a fixed number of members.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Hicks considers that the romanized Senate of Ephesos was filled up by cooptation, and that beyond the strict number 450, it admitted honorary members; and he explains the letter of Hadrian, and the frequent appointments of successful athletes as senators, as referring to honorary senators. The idea seems to me to be too modern. Mr. Hicks's only arguments are founded on analogies from the constitution of modern London and the Oxford colleges (Sicily affords a nearer analogy, Marquardt, p. 211). The senate had become an *ordo*; and it was an honour and a title to be of senatorial rank. Now Erastus in due course could only become

a senator at the next revision; and Hadrian asks the senate to hold the scrutiny immediately, and admit him provisionally until the list was formally made up at the ensuing revision: the case of magistrates furnished a complete analogy, for they took their seats at once, and were afterwards put on the list at the next revision. The scrutiny of Erastus might be performed by the supreme board of magistrates, or by a committee (*decemprimi*?). Pliny, *Ep. ad Traj.* 39 and 112, mentions such senators, appointed *beneficio imperatoris*, as common.

<sup>3</sup> Menadier *Ephesii* p. 30: Marquardt *Staatsalt.* I p. 211, *Cyzicos* p. 53 f.

<sup>4</sup> Pliny consulted Trajan whether entry-money was compulsory. Trajan replied, 113, that it was not compulsory; those who were willingly appointed would pay voluntarily from motives of ambition; in the case of unwilling



responsible for the investment of the money belonging to the state; the beginning of this custom was proposed by Pliny to Trajan, and decidedly rejected by him (54, 55); but afterwards it became regular, and the *dekaprotoi*, § 13, were especially charged with the management. Thus the honour was changed first into a duty, and finally into a burden, running the same course by which all *honores* were transformed into *munera*. When it assumed this form, the burden became hereditary, for the senate could not be filled up in any other way. Thus the pernicious system of hereditary castes grew up in the Byzantine empire<sup>1</sup>.

§ 13. DEKAPROTOI. In inscr. no. 6 an ἐξεταστής occurs. This is, however, not a certain proof that the Roman system had been introduced, for ἐξετασταί or λογισταί or εὐθυνοί were also well-known officials of pure Greek type, charged with duties analogous to certain of the Roman censorial functions. But in this case the same person who had been ἐξεταστής also became *dekaprotos*; and the *decemprimi* (δεκάπρωτοι) are certainly a Roman idea. Originally they were simply the first ten men on the list of the senate; and it appears from the frequent references to the position of *dekaprotos*, and still more from the use of the verb δεκαπρωτεύειν, in lists of municipal offices filled by individual citizens, that some distinct office and power was implied by the term. According to Mommsen (*Staatsrecht* III 852) the *decemprimi* or δεκάπρωτοι regularly appear in situations where the senate in its official capacity has to play a part, and does so by deputing a committee to represent it. It is formally laid down by Ulpian (*Digest* 50, 3, 1) that the list of municipal senators must be made in the order of dignity and seniority according to office, first those who had been *quinquennales* or had filled that office which was reckoned highest in the city. A person therefore could hardly be one of the *dekaprotoi* unless he had filled the highest office in the state, and this at Laodiceia must have been that of first *strategos*.

*Dekaprotoi* in the simplest and earliest form are mentioned in two inscriptions of Amorgos (CIG 2264 and 2264 b *add.*), where it is added that they performed the duties which were (in the Greek senate) performed by *prytaneis*.

In the third century and later the *dekaprotoi* seem to have been specially occupied in the collection of taxes. They were responsible

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members, the custom of each city must be followed (which implies that fees had become universal in some cities).

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Prof. H. F. Pelham for answering my questions on several points about the senates.



for loss or deficiency, and it was therefore necessary that they should be men of property. It is quite probable that when this duty was imposed on them, they ceased to be merely the first ten by office and seniority, and were selected<sup>1</sup> with a view to financial suitability. They were really servants collecting the imposts of the central government.

Again we find C. Julius Paternulus an athlete and senator, where the term is used simply as a term indicative of rank and has none of the real official character<sup>2</sup>. The senate has now become an *ordo*.

§ 14. GEROUSIA AND NEOI. That a Gerousia existed at Laodiceia may be assumed as certain; but no proof has been yet found. The *Neoi* were also united in a social organization. In Mr. Whittall's collection I have seen a coin with the legend ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ · ΝΕΟΙ<sup>3</sup>. On the character of these bodies, see Ch. III § 13.

§ 15. THE MAGISTRATES. Evidence about the magistrates of Laodiceia is so scanty that it is not possible to do much more than state the questions for future investigation. The analogy of other Asian cities throws some light on the few references in inscriptions; but the great diversity of usage in different cities of Asia makes all inferences from analogy uncertain. Uniformity was gradually introduced as the municipal system of the province was romanized; and analogies of romanized institutions have more probability than analogies of Greek customs. The old Greek constitution of Laodiceia is quite likely to have differed from that of Smyrna or Ephesos in regard to any office common to both states; whereas in later Roman time any common office was probably of the same character in both.

Magistracies were of two types, honours and burdens (*honores* and *munera*, ἀρχαί and λειτουργίαι). The former brought an accession of dignity with a salary, or at least they did not necessarily entail expenditure, whereas the latter expressly required expenditure in defined ways. The distinction, though not introduced by the Romans, was greatly modified by them; and it is difficult to apply it in detail. The *honores* were often voluntarily accompanied by expenditure by ambitious or patriotic citizens, while several offices, mentioned as *munera* in the *Digest* L 4, 14, were probably esteemed *honores* in the original Greek constitution; and varying distinctions were made in

<sup>1</sup> Menadier p. 100 considers that they were chosen from the citizens as a whole and not from the senators alone. This is improbable: probably care was taken that the richest citizens should be senators.

<sup>2</sup> BCH 1887 p. 352: read τὴν κρατίστην [γυναικα], and on the other side perhaps εἰματισπω[λ]ίς see p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> I do not know what became of the coin at his sale.



different cities (*Dig.* L 4, 18, 2 and 19). *Munera* were multiplied in the later Roman system, and the imposition of heavy burdens on property was carried to an extreme, and certainly helped to produce that slavery to system and that absence of individuality, energy, and personal freedom, which made the later empire weak against foreign enemies. The individual citizen in later times had few rights and little opportunity of initiating action of any kind: his life was marked out for him; for that which was not ordered by the central government was ordered by the trade-guilds, such as still control commerce in some parts of the country<sup>1</sup>. Thus castes were formed, and a man's life was fixed from his birth, only the church and the monastery or hermitage being beyond this rigid system. The history of the Asian cities under the Empire is a gradual decline from the freedom of the Greek constitution, through growing centralization of government and abridgement of municipal power, to the caste-system and the annihilation of individual freedom and life under the Byzantine Emperor. The complete domination of the centralized principle of government in the Catholic Church had a great influence in hastening and fixing the Byzantine style of administration.

§ 16. OFFICIAL DRESS. How far official dress was worn by the magistrates, evidence hardly exists. It is indeed certain that some of the higher officials at least wore a special dress; but in all the cases of this which are known the dress was probably the survival of some ancient religious institution. This is certain in the case of the municipal *Stephanephoroï* (§ 10) and the *Basileis* or other representatives of early kingship<sup>2</sup>; and probably in many cases unknown to us magistracies representative of the old priestly dignities existed in Asian cities. But the remark of Attalos son of Polemon, quoted in § 5, shows how much importance was attached to dress<sup>3</sup>, and there can be little doubt that some right of dress was conferred by official position, though it is doubtful whether, in most cases, it was more than the right of wearing the municipal senatorial dress.

In Aphrodisias a term occurs denoting a magistrate which seems to be derived from his official dress. The officer who superintends the practical work of placing the dedication in one instance is called

<sup>1</sup> E. g. at Angora (Ancyra) the muleteers form (or formed) a guild, and the guild-master assigned to each muleteer his share of business.

<sup>2</sup> See Strabo p. 633.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Horace *Sat.* I 5, 36 and

Petronius *Cena Trimalch.* with Friedländer's notes p. 210, 308, in respect of the eagerness of officials in small towns of Italy to wear official dress and have official insignia borne in front of them.



Phoinikous<sup>1</sup>, because he wears a purple robe. The term, so far as I know, is unique. The robe must have been one entirely of purple, not with merely a purple border such as was probably worn by all magistrates (*purpurea*<sup>2</sup>, not *praetexta*). Official dress was a Roman rather than a Greek idea; and except where an official represents an old religious dignity, we may be sure that any trace of official dress must be due to Roman influence.

§ 17. ARCHONS, GRAMMATEUS. The title *archon*, so common in Asia, never occurs on coins or inscriptions of Laodiceia<sup>3</sup>. Eckhel has observed the rule that in cities which put the title *γραμματεὺς* on their coins, no allusion to the existence of magistrates entitled *Archons* is found<sup>4</sup>; whereas such cities frequently can be proved to possess *strategoi*, and often mention them on their coins. Eckhel's rule is not absolutely correct, but there seems to be a tendency towards it, which suggests that, where *archons* existed, the *grammateis* were less important and therefore less likely to be mentioned on coins.

In Tralleis the office of *grammateus* is mentioned as the climax of a municipal career<sup>5</sup>. Mr. Hicks, p. 82, well observes that in

<sup>1</sup> κατασκευασαμένου τοῦ φοινεικοῦντος ἐν τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας αὐτοῦ χρόνῳ (BCH 1885 p. 78). It is difficult to say whether αὐτοῦ here refers to the Phoinikous or to the dedicator. If the former is the case, one of the *strategoi* must have worn officially a purple robe (perhaps as continuing an older office of the style of king or priest); if the latter, the Phoinikous must be some very high official, whose action was intended to give special distinction to the dedication. The second alternative is more probable. Pedisas, which is written in larger letters, is probably the familiar name of the dedicator (MM. Paris and Holleaux express doubt as to its intention): such familiar names are often added (generally in dative or genitive).

<sup>2</sup> In Rome the *toga purpurea* was worn by kings, by generals in triumpho, by certain magistrates when presiding at certain of the great games (espec. *ludi Apollinares*) or when engaged in certain sacrifices, and under the Empire by the consuls on First January and by the emperors at feasts and games.

<sup>3</sup> A letter, Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 20, begins Λαοδικέων ἄρχοντες Γαίῳ Παβιρίῳ Γ. υἱ. [ἀνθ]υπάτῳ χαίρειν (so Homolle, BCH 1882 p. 608 for Παβιρίῳ and υἱάτῳ); but here ἄρχοντες denotes the magistrates as a body.

<sup>4</sup> He gives as examples Adramyttion, Antioch Mae., Apameia Mae., Ephesos, Kilbianoi (Lower), Magnesia Mae., Mylasa, Nysa, Pergamos, Tralleis. But at Antioch Mae. both Archons and Grammateis are mentioned; and at Magnesia Mae. Archons certainly occur, while the legend ΓΡ is not quite so certain. Ephesos has APX on alliance-coins, and there were archons there in earlier times (see C. Curtius in *Hermes* IV p. 225). Megara is the only city outside of Asia which mentions a *grammateus* on coins. See p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> See inscr. in CIG 2931 Γ. Ἰούλιον Μένανδρον Αὐρηλιανὸν μετὰ πολλὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας γραμματεύσαντα τῆς πόλεως ἐπιφανῶς: and there we find also the expression γνώμη στρατηγῶν καὶ τοῦ γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου.



Ephesos, 'as the vigour of the popular assembly declined, it was left more and more to the *grammateus* to arrange its business: he co-operated with the *strategoi* in drafting the decrees<sup>1</sup>, he had them engraved, he took charge of money left to the people,' &c.; and the analogy of Ephesos probably may be applied widely. The '*grammateus* of the city' is probably identical with the '*grammateus* of the *demos*' and the '*grammateus* of senate and *demos*' (CIG 3151-3); but the '*grammateus* of the senate' is to be distinguished.

The close relation that existed between the Clerk and the Strategoi explains the inscriptions on coins of Hadrian and Sabina,

ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΟΣ · ΓΡΑΜ · ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΟΣ · ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩΝ · ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ.

Probably both commemorate the same dedication by Agrippinus.

§ 18. STRATEGOI. There was a board of *strategoi* at Laodiceia, taking their designation from the first and eponymous *strategos* (οἱ περὶ . . . στρατηγοί CIG 3948), who apparently was styled Strategos of the City (τῆς πόλεως)<sup>2</sup>, and had charge of the revenues (γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων προσόδων), for in *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 145 Q. Pomponius Flaccus is praised because 'he acted as *strategos* of the city in a way advantageous to the people and gave attention to the public revenues.' The question arises what relation existed between this *strategos* and the 'superintendent of public estates' (inscr. 6). These estates were probably let out to individual farmers (μισθωταί), who paid a rent or share of produce to the state; and the superintendent looked after the state interest<sup>3</sup>. It is probable that the latter was a subordinate official in the financial department over which the first *strategos* presided as 'First Lord of the Treasury.'

The number and composition of the board of *strategoi* is unknown. Besides the City-strategos there was (2) a Night-strategos, who was probably a superintendent of police charged with the maintenance of

<sup>1</sup> In Amorgos the *dekaprotoi* seem to have been the arrangers of the business of the assembly, CIG 2264 and 2264 b (p. 63).

<sup>2</sup> At Stratonikaia Car. there was a board of four *strategoi*, three for the city, and one for the country, BCH 1891 p. 424. At Cyzicos there was a board of six *στρατηγοῦντες τῆς πόλεως*, and apparently each of the six was individually styled *στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως*, for the third in one list is mentioned with that title, BCH 1890 p. 537; but

the eponymous magistrate has the title in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 13. The title *στρατηγῶν τὸν πρῶτον τόπον* also was widely used, Waddington 845, 883 (Aizanoi), BCH 1886 p. 416 (Thyatira), &c. A similar formula occurs in the case of archons; see *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 p. 173 and CIG 3773 (where read [ἀρχ]οντος τὸν α' τόπον . . . ἀρχιμίστου διὰ βίου, see Mordtmann in *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 p. 174). See *Addenda*.

<sup>3</sup> A similar *ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν δημοσίων χωρίων* existed at Colossai (Wadd. 1693 b).



order by night, the prevention of fires, &c. (3) The relation of this official to the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης* (at Smyrna CIG 3151) is uncertain. It is probable that these are varying names for the same officer, who was head of the *gens d'armes*. Pionius mentions a *strategos* at Smyrna as engaged in keeping order by night, and Lightfoot seems right in identifying him with the *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης*, while it is very difficult to avoid also the identification with the Night-strategos<sup>1</sup>. The latter office is mentioned in the Digest as a *munus*<sup>2</sup>; but many offices which were originally *honores* seem to have become *munera* in later times.

Two other official names occur which are connected with this subject. One is the *Paraphylax*, who is evidently the head of the *paraphylakitai*, a kind of *gens d'armes*<sup>3</sup>; the other is the *Eirenarch*. In an inscription of Nysa the *Eirenarch* and the *Paraphylax* are distinguished from each other (BCH 1883 p. 274); and in one of Sebastopolis the *Eirenarch* and the Night-strategos are distinguished. Prof. O. Hirschfeld proposes to understand that the *Eirenarch* was not a municipal, but an imperial, official, and that his authority extended over the whole province (in which case the municipal Night-strategos and *Paraphylax* would be subordinate to him); but I do not think that he has proved his case<sup>4</sup>. At present there is not evidence to show the relations between these various offices.

<sup>1</sup> *Vit. Polycarpi* § 18, and Lightfoot *ad loc.* It is, however, doubtful whether Pionius's words can be used as an authority for the official terminology of the second century: the author may have used, and probably did use, the official names of his own time (i.e. probably fourth century, Lightfoot, p. 1011). The *nocturnae custodiae praefectus* at Amisos (quoted from Apuleius *Met.* p. 178 by M. Cagnat *de municipal. et provinc. militiis* p. 14) may also be either the one or the other. The Night-strategos also occurred at Sebastopolis of Caria (Sterrett E. J. no. 25); but I do not think that Prof. O. Hirschfeld is justified in quoting the phrase *ἐπὶ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ* at Colonia Antiochia Pisidia as a proof that he was an official there (*Berlin Sitzungsber.* 1891 p. 868).

<sup>2</sup> 50, 4, 18, 12 *nyctostrategi et pistrinorum curatores personale munus ineunt*.

<sup>3</sup> See Ch. VIII App.; *Hist. Geogr.* p. 178; O. Hirschfeld *Berlin Sitzungsber.* 1891 p. 868. A *paraphylax* at Nysa (BCH 1883 p. 274), at Tralleis (*ib.*), Iotapa (CIG 4413 c), Magnesia Mae. (Kontoleon *ἀνέκδοτοι Μικρασ. ἐπιγραφαί* no. 90), Mossyna or Hierapolis (inscr. 31), Eumeneia, and among the Ormeleis (Ch. IX § 3).

<sup>4</sup> The expression in inscr. of Sebastopolis Cariae (Sterrett E. J. no. 25) *τειμηθεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς στρώσεως τῆς ἐξέδρας . . . τειμαῖς εἰρηναρχικαῖς* appears to prove that the *eirenarchate* (or the honours &c. pertaining to that office) had been given by the city as a reward for paving the *exedra* (i.e. probably he had promised, *ἐπηγγείλατο*, to do so and was elected). The *eirenarchate* is frequently given in lists of offices held by an individual, but the *asiarchate* (which was imperial) is also often given in similar lists.



(4) The *Strategos ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας* (or *τὴν χώραν* or *τοὺς δήμους*) was probably charged with the care of peace and order in the villages scattered over the wide territories of these great cities (on those of Laodiceia see § 2)<sup>1</sup>. At Alabanda there were two<sup>2</sup>; and we find a monument erected by the state to two of them who had been slain in the performance of their duty (*τετελευτηκότες ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος* BCH 1881 p. 180).

(5) The Nomophylax was perhaps a member of the board: but the phrase *δι' αἰῶνος νομοφύλαξ* (CIG 3937) is hardly consistent with this. But the office of a Nomophylax is enumerated in the career of Q. Pomponius Flaccus after those of City-strategos and Agoranomos, and before that of Night-strategos (*Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 145), which makes it probable that the Nomophylax was one of the supreme board of magistrates. At Laodiceia he had to spend money in respect of practical arrangements (*οἰκονομήματα*) and to manage certain distributions of oil (a duty which generally fell on the gymnasiarch); and he might acquire popularity by defraying this expense from his own pocket<sup>3</sup>. At Mylasa he acted as supervisor in matters of finance and public property (BCH 1881 p. 112, *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 p. 269). The Oikonomos at Smyrna (CIG 3162) was a strategos, and probably of similar duties to the Nomophylax.

(6) On a coin with type Zeus Laodikenos occurs the legend [A]ΜΑΞΕΙΟΣ · ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΗΣ: *Nomothetes* and *Nomophylax* were perhaps different names of the same official, and the former was certainly a *strategos* at Smyrna<sup>4</sup>. Part of his duty probably was to superintend the customs and ways of society, especially among the young, and to transfer them from class to class as they grew older. The *παιδονόμος* at Teos and Nikomedeia was perhaps a subordinate official of similar character (CIG 3773, corrected *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 p. 174).

The following names of *strategoî* occur in other Asian cities.

(7) *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν* is known at Smyrna, where Menadier infers from Philostratus *vit. Soph.* II 16 αἱ δὲ οἴκοι τιμαὶ ἐς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> O. Hirschfeld l. c. identifies this official with the Nycto-strategos, and takes no notice of the Eireno-strategos; and he quotes Henzen, *Annali d. Inst.* 1852 p. 118 f as agreeing with him.

<sup>2</sup> Compare BCH 1886 p. 314 (Alabanda); Wadd. 1604, 1611, BCH 1890 p. 606, *Annali* 1852 p. 124 (two at Aphrodisias); BCH 1891 p. 424 (one at Stratonikaia Car., where M. Cousin

quotes also *Syllog. Constantinop.* 1880-81 παράρτ. p. 53 [Tralleis] and *Ath. Mitth.* II p. 224 [Rhodes]).

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 145 ἀλείψαντα ἐν ταῖς ἐπισήμοις ἡμεραῖς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ μῆνα καὶ νομοφυλακήσαντα μετὰ τοῦ καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκονομημάτων δαπάνας πεποιῆσθαι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> Waddington 1522 a τὸν νομοθέτην τῆς στρατηγίας.



ἀρχιερέας τε καὶ στεφανουμένους τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν (ἀνῆγον) that he was chief of the board (Waddington 1522 a).

(8) στρατηγὸς ἐπίτροπος (Smyrna CIG 3151, 3162: cp. Waddington on 1522 a).

(9) πομπαῖος στρατηγός (Smyrna 3348) superintended processions and religious ceremonies, and was perhaps the same as

(10) ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ (Smyrna CIG 3151, 3152, 3162): Menadier proves that he was a *strategos*.

(11) ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ στεφάνου and (12) ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διατάξεως are also perhaps titles of *strategoî* at Smyrna (CIG 3151).

No city probably had so large a supreme board as 12; but titles varied in different cities <sup>1</sup>.

§ 19. AGORANOMOS. This very common officer existed at Laodiceia; he is more widely known in Asia than any other official. The office is mentioned in *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 145 between that of στρατηγὸς τῆς πόλεως and those of νομοφύλαξ and στρατηγὸς κατὰ νύκτα in such a way as to suggest the possibility that all were members of the supreme board. The *agoranomos* regulated the markets and retail-trade, and was inspector of weights and measures.

§ 20. OTHER MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS. A SUPERINTENDENT of public works (ἐργεπιστάτης) is mentioned; but in such a way as to suggest that a special superintendent was appointed for each special building.

The GYMNASIARCH is almost invariably found in Asian cities (see Apameia).

The SEITONES, who was charged with the duty of seeing that a sufficient stock of food to feed the great population was maintained, was certainly an important official (see § 3).

§ 21. IMPERIAL OFFICIALS. Few officials of the imperial service are referred to at Laodiceia. Occasionally a proconsul is mentioned; and probably it may be inferred in such cases that he either visited the city, or had some important business transaction with it. When the state erected any great public building, it required first of all to get the sanction of the proconsul: such at least was the custom in Bithynia-Pontus when Pliny was governor. Hence the proconsul's name was often mentioned in the dedicatory inscriptions on public buildings (inscrs. 1, 4).

Marcellus, proconsul A.D. 70-3, Popilius Peto, proconsul 160-1, are mentioned on coins, which perhaps were struck to commemorate visits

<sup>1</sup> στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ξένων, i.e. *praetor peregrinus*, is a Roman, not an Asian official.



during the progresses which governors often made through their province.

An imperial procurator (P. Aelius) Macrianus, is mentioned CIG 3939, which seems to be erected by one of his freedmen<sup>1</sup> or dependents. Perhaps Tib. Claudius Tryphon, inscr. 5, was also an imperial procurator. Such an official must doubtless have resided at Laodiceia to superintend the *fiscus*. M. Aurelius Claudius, Aug. lib. proc. (honoured at Attouda CIG 3950), was an official of similar position.

§ 22. PEREGRINI. The Romans resident at Laodiceia must have been both numerous and powerful; and it is noteworthy that in inscr. 2 they are mentioned before the *demos*. This order occurs also at Assos (Eph. Ep. V 155) and elsewhere. They consisted chiefly of Italians who had settled for trading purposes, and natives of Laodiceia who had obtained the *civitas*, together with a small number of officials. After Caracalla's time the distinction between citizens of Laodiceia and Roman *incolae* ceased to exist. Their organization and *status* will be described under Apameia.

The Jews who resided in considerable numbers at Laodiceia ranked probably as a separate people<sup>2</sup> until A.D. 70, when all national rights were withdrawn from them. They are mentioned in a letter addressed by the government of Laodiceia to Gaius Rabirius in 48 or 45 B.C.<sup>3</sup>, and they had perhaps been introduced by Antiochus the Great § 1. They also will be discussed under Apameia.

Sedatus Theophilus of Nikaia, who had been praetor and was therefore of senatorial rank, seems to have had some connexion with Laodiceia; for L. Sedatius (sic!) Theophilus, who is praised in CIG 3937 as a benefactor to his fatherland, seems to be a relative of his<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The inscription may be completed on this assumption: [Π. Αἴλιον] Μακρίανον [τὸν] κράτιστ[ον ἐπὶ]τροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Π. Αἴλιος Ἀμι[ανὸς τὸν πατρῶνα?].

<sup>2</sup> They are called the ἔθνος τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

<sup>3</sup> Josephus *Ant. Jud.* XIV 10, 20. See § 17.

<sup>4</sup> Waddington in *Mem. de l'Inst.* 1867 p. 256. L. Sedatius is a Laodicean and cannot be identical with the Nicaean.

Borghesi *Ann.* 1855 p. 32 identifies the latter with M. Sedatius C. F. Severianus *cos. suff.* between 140 and 152 along with P. Septumius Aper, CIL III 1575, II 2008. Aristides met him consulting Asclepius at Pergamos *Or. Sacr.* II p. 531, III p. 574 (Jebb pp. 301, 324). See Mommsen on CIL III 1575 and *Berl. Abhandl.* 1860 p. 610, CIL XIV 246, 250, Borghesi *Œuvres* VIII p. 473.



## APPENDIX I.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF LAODICEIA.

It is unnecessary to repeat the text of such inscriptions as are already published correctly, or in which the corrections needed have been sufficiently stated in the preceding remarks.

1. (R. 1884). On an epistyle block in the ruins of the gymnasium. Αὐτοκράτορι Τρα]ιανῷ Ἀδριανῷ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ καὶ Σαβείνῃ Σεβ[αστῇ Λαοδικέων τῶν ἐπὶ Λύκῳ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ?? ἐ]πὶ ἀνθυπάτου Γαργιλίου Ἀντε[ί]κου καθιέρωσαν [τὸ Γυμνάσιον?].

See § 6 (b). Gargilius Antiquus is not otherwise known. His son L. Pullaienus Gargilius Antiquus was *legatus Augusti* in Thrace and consul designate in 161, CIL III 7394. The name Gargilius (a freedman?) occurs in Cagnat *Chron. d'Epigr. Afric.* 1892 p. 20. If he was proconsul in 123 or 124, his consulship would fall about 109–112.

2. (R. 1891). On an exedra found near the 'Ephesian Gate' at the road-side: now at the station Appa. M. Sestio Philemoni Sacco libertus. Μάρκῳ Σηστίῳ Φιλήμονι Σάκκων ἀπελεύ[θερος]. Οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι. Ὁ Δῆμος.

The names of the resident Romans and the *Demos* are within crowns, the Romans being above the *Demos*. Given wrongly BCH 1893 p. 250.

3. (R. 1884). The letters are worn and faint, but certain. Published CIG 3936 (after Chandler *Inscr.* I 31 slight faults in copy 2, 16, 17) with transcription very erroneous. The length of the gaps is carefully noted in my copy (9–16 complete on right, 8–16 have gaps on left) and the following restoration is certain. ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Τάτιον Νεικοστράτου τοῦ Περικλέους νέαν ἡρώϊδα, διὰ τε τ[ὰς τ]οῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἀρχάς τε καὶ λει[τ]ουργίας καὶ ἐργ[επι]στασίας καὶ διὰ [τὸ]ν πρόθειον αὐτῆς [Νι]κόστρατον ὃς [μ]ε[τὰ τ]ῶν ἄλλων ὦν πα[ρέσ]χεν ἱεράτευσέν [τε] τῆς πόλεως καὶ [ἀνέ]θηκεν τό τε στά[διον] ἀνφιθέατρον [λευκόλ]ιθον καὶ τὰς [περικειμένας στοάς].

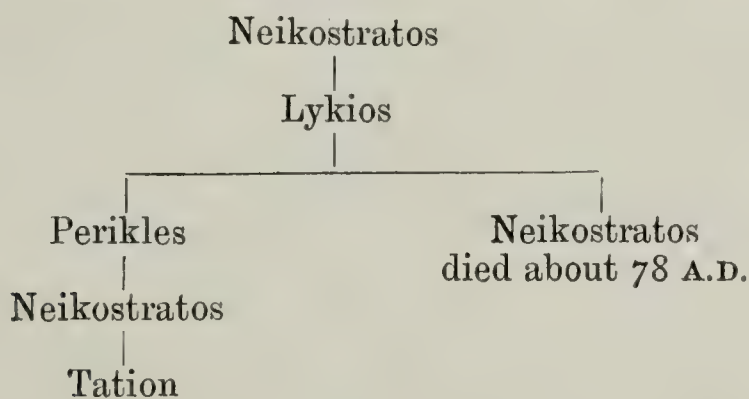
The term στάδιον ἀμφιθέατρον is important and unique (compare ἀμφιθέατρον ἱππόδρομον and ἀμφιθέατρον στοάν in Dionys. *Ant. Rom.* IV 44,



III 68<sup>1</sup>). The Greek Stadium was like an elongated theatre, with seats round three sides, and the fourth a straight wall, while the later Stadium was like an elongated amphitheatre, with seats round all four sides. The term is misrepresented in CIG 3936; and the false text is ordinarily quoted as a proof that an amphitheatre was often built as an addition to a theatre (e.g. in Smith's *Dict. Antiq.* ed. III s.v. *Stadium*). Tation having died was specially honoured (*νέαν ἡρωίδα*) by Senate and People: the term implies a public cultus, which was paid for of course by her family, not by the state. The date of this inscription is early in the second century, as is shown by the following, which can be properly restored from our corrected text in the present case.

4. Published CIG 3935 from many varying copies. In the end of 2 I follow Smith against Chandler, whose copy is preferred in CIG<sup>2</sup>. *Αὐτοκρ]ά[τορι] Τίτῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ, ὑπάτῳ τὸ ζ', αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ Οὐεσπασιανοῦ υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ Δήμῳ, Νεικόστρατος Λυκίου τοῦ Νεικοστράτου τὸ [σ]τ[άδιον ἀμφι]θέατρον λευκόλιθον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν· τὰ προσλείψαντα τοῦ ἔργου τελειώσαντος Νεικοστράτου τοῦ κληρονόμου αὐτοῦ· καθιερώσαντος Μάρκου Οὐλπίου Τραιανοῦ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου*<sup>3</sup>. The date is the latter part of 79 A.D.

From this and the preceding inscr., we may restore the stemma of this distinguished family. Neikostratos the builder of the stadion died shortly before it was completed. His heir Neikostratos was probably his nephew; for, if he had been his son, the relationship would have been mentioned in place of the term 'heir.'



<sup>1</sup> Ἀμφιθέατρος as an adjective is quoted only twice in Stephanus.

<sup>2</sup> Chandler's νεώτερος is evidently a conjecture of his own: Smith's ΤΟΥΤ is more trustworthy (CIG does not quote his text correctly), as he gives what he saw without trying to make it intelligible.

<sup>3</sup> M. Ulpius Traianus, father of the emperor Trajan, was praetor not later than 65, consul suffectus probably in

69 or 70, legatus Augusti of Syria in the year 76-7 (and naturally for two years after), proconsul of Asia 79-80, died later than Pliny's Paneg. 100, deified between 112 and 114. Wadd. puts his consulship 70 or 71, Liebenam in 69 definitely, on ground solely of his proconsulate in 79-80, but the interval under Vespasian was nine years (Wadd. *Fastes* p. 13).



5. Published CIG 3949 from several copies, with a different restoration. Δ[ιὺ] Μεγίσ[τῳ] Σ[ω]τῆρι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι [Δομιτιανῶ erased] Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς ἐξο[υσίας τὸ ·, ὑπάτῳ τὸ ·, αὐτοκράτορι τὸ ·, Τιβ]έρ[ιος Κλαύ]διος, Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθερος, Τρύφων τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς πύργους καὶ τὸ τρίπυλον σὺν [παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καθιέρωσεν].

This inscription is said to have been found near the Asopos; and it is clear that it belongs to the elaborate gateway by which the road from the coast and the Maeander valley entered the city immediately after crossing the Asopos. Fellows says that from the bridge over the Asopos 'a paved road leads to a triple-arched entrance to the city.'

In CIG 3949 the inscription is attributed to Nero on account of the name of the imperial freedman; but the length of the gap suits the above restoration, and the titulature is more characteristic of Domitian. A freedman of Claudius might still be acting under Domitian.

6. Published CIG 3945 after Pococke. Λ]α[ο]δ[ικέων ἡ βουλὴ κα]ὶ ὁ δῆ[μ]ο[ς] ἐτείμησεν Νεικόμαχο[ν] ΙΙα[. . . . ο]υ [τὸ]ν [γ]υ[μνα]σίαρχον [τῆς πόλε]ως καὶ ἐξεταστὴν κ[αὶ] σ[ε]ιτών[ην] καὶ δεκάπ[ρωτον καὶ] ἐπιμελητὴν χω[ρίων] δ[η]μοσίων τῆς πόλεως.

The title, Superintendent of Public Estates, is found at Colossai (Wadd. 1693 b).

7. Published *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 146 from the copy of M. Weber, with incorrect transcription. τούτου τοῦ βωμοῦ κήδεται ἡ βουλὴ καθὼς ἦασε<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ στεφανωτικὸν Πυθόδωρος Διοτείμου δην. γ ἵνα στεφανοῦται ἐκ(κ) τῶν τόκων κατ' ἐνιαυτόν· ὁμοίως καὶ Μένανδρος Σωσίμου<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Θεμίσωνος ὁ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ υ[ί]ος καὶ αὐτὸς καταλείπει στεφανωτικὸν τῇ<sup>3</sup> τῆς βουλῆς τῇ φυλῇ τῇ Ἀπολλωνίδι δην. . . ἐν [τ]ῇ σορῶ κηδευθήσεται ὁ Μένανδρος, ἥ ἐστὶν σορ[ὸς] κατὰ μεσηνβρίαν· μεθ' ὃν οὐδενὶ ἐ[ξ]έσται κηδευθῆναι ἑτέρῳ τινί· ὁμοίω[ς] καταλέλοιπεν καὶ Δομετία [Τ]άτα, ἡ πατρ[α]-δέλφη, τοὺς προσόδους τῶν . . . ]νων χωρίων τῶν ὄντω[ν ἐν . . .

It is doubtful whether only half a line or one and a half lines are lost after πατραδέλφη. Themison is a name that points back to the Seleucid period (p. 252).

8. Published CIG 3938 with incorrect restoration. The restoration here given is in parts uncertain. [ἀνέστησεν πλησίον τοῦ?] Ἐμπορίου [ἡ ἐργασία ποικιλ]τῶν γναφέ[ων βαφέων καὶ] ἀπλουργ[ῶ]ν· ἐπιμεληθείσης τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Compare with this form ἡκότος no. 17. In *Ath. Mitth.* l. c. the reading καθωσήασε (= καθωσίωσε) is preferred.

<sup>2</sup> Probably [Ζ]ωσίμου should be read.

<sup>3</sup> τῇ is an error of the engraver, and should be omitted here.



ἀνα[στάσεως τῆς νε]οκόρου [τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ] τῇ[s] Ἀσίας [μητροπόλεως]  
Λαοδ[ι]καίων [τῶν ἐπὶ Λύκῳ].

The restoration of the opening phrase is very uncertain; but an Exchange is a building likely to have existed in Laodiceia, and the conjoined trades might naturally place an honorary statue and inscription near it. The succeeding phrase is restored by M. Waddington.

9. M. G. Weber has published in *Rev. Archéol.* 1892 II p. 288 and Pl. XXII a gravestone from Laodiceia with rude reliefs; the inscription which is badly restored by him deserves repetition. Two lines (now almost entirely lost) were engraved on the raised border at the top of the stones: these are really the conclusion of the text. Below them line 3 begins with a common formula. The stone is complete at the bottom; and the conclusion of the inscription was placed on the border at the top. Line 3 τὸ [ἡρώων καὶ τὰ] ἐν αὐτῷ θέ[ματα φαμ]η[λ]ικὰ ἔστιν Διονυσίου Λ. Φορνίου Λαοδικέως, φυλῆς Λαοδικίδος, καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀμμίας· ἐν ᾧ ἡρώῳ κηδευθήσονται αὐτοί ται καὶ τέκν(α) αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνων ταίκνα, ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ (line 1) ἂν [. . . . .]μ ἱερει [. . . . .]η ἑσταμένη<sup>1</sup>.

The name Διονυσίου Λ. Φορνίου is uncertain. M. Weber reads A and takes it as abbreviation of a second name; but such a method of writing a personal name is unknown to me. The cross-bar of the A is incomplete and faint; and the reading Λ is highly probable. Greek inscriptions often err in the form of Latin names; and here a Latin name, L. Furnius Dionysius, has been given in non-Latin order by a person who did not know Latin. L. Furnius Dionysius was a freedman, who was proud of having obtained the citizenship at Laodiceia, and boasts of it on this monument, the object of which is stated in l. 4. The reading is uncertain, but [φαμ]η[λ]ικά is highly probable, if we allow the correction of Δ to Λ<sup>2</sup>. The grave, in that case, is intended to accommodate Dionysios, his wife, children, and grandchildren, and also his *familia*. The latter must probably be understood as a school of gladiators<sup>3</sup> kept by Dionysios (of course as a business-speculation).

10. Published CIG 3942 (the correction *μονομαχίων* from *μονομάχιον* is made p. 1105). Μνῆμα μονομαχίων τῶν δοθέντων ὑπὸ ἀρχιερέως καὶ στεφανηφόρου Διοκλέους τοῦ Μητροφίλου.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps [ἐ]νεσταμένη.

to fill the space.

<sup>2</sup> The letter before ΗΔ was either K, Λ, X, or Μ. [Μ]ηδικὰ θέματα seems inadmissible and unintelligible. Probably two or three letters are needed

<sup>3</sup> A tomb for a family of gladiators near Eumeneia inscr. 79; another at Tralleis Wadd. 615.



This inscription is of a common type<sup>1</sup>. It is 'the tomb of the gladiators at the show given by Diokles.' The Greek can be understood only as a translation of the Latin phrase *dare gladiatores*, 'to give a show of gladiators.' The character and position of Diokles as High-priest in the Laodicean cultus of the Emperors have been discussed § 9. In this position he had to give gladiatorial exhibitions (and *venationes*) of the Roman type. This custom, as established by law, has been treated admirably by Mommsen *Ephem. Epigr.* VII p. 389 f. (esp. 404), from whom I learn most of what is said here; but in some details I differ. The duty was imposed on the great officials of the imperial cultus, the High-priests (ἀρχιερείς), of giving exhibitions of the Roman type. In the province Asia Mommsen infers from the monuments that the Asiarchs alone exhibited these shows of gladiators; but I think he is not justified in assuming that the ἀρχιερείς mentioned in the inscriptions of Parion, Aphrodisias, and Laodiceia were ἀρχιερείς Ἀσίας, for if they had been so, their dignity would probably have been stated. They were probably high-priests of a municipal cultus of the Emperors at these cities, who, as we must infer, were under the same legal obligation as the Asiarchs to give *munera* and *venationes*. Hence, when Mommsen proceeds to argue that the tombs were not intended for gladiators slain in the actual exhibitions, but for those who died during the course of training in the school, because several of the cities where such tombs occur are not places where the Asiarchs gave exhibitions, we cannot agree with him. It appears to me that we have in all these cases a tomb made by the president of the show for those who were killed in it, and the inscriptions, as Mommsen himself states, were intended quite as much to be a memorial of the exhibition and of the exhibitor as to mark the tombs of the gladiators. Especially, when criminals were buried in these tombs (CIG 2759 b), they must have been actually slain in the arena, as they were certainly not trained in a school. The principle stated by Mommsen must then be slightly widened. Asiarchs and municipal high-priests were expected to give *munera gladiatoria*, which, like everything connected with the imperial cultus, had a political aim: they were intended to accustom the populace to Roman institutions and Roman magnificence of ceremonial. Incidentally we observe that the criminals who were exhibited by the High-priest at Aphrodisias (CIG 2759 b) furnish a proof that these *munera* were closely connected with government, and that the givers of such *munera* were in a real sense government officials. Some

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<sup>1</sup> Other examples occur at Cos, Paton-Hicks no. 141; Smyrna CIG 3213; Aphrodisias CIG 2759 b; Parion CIG 3650; Tralleis, Wadd. 615. See *Addenda* Cyzicos CIG 3677; Mytilene CIG 2194 b; 9 and 37.



of the criminals buried in that tomb may have been Christians, for I cannot agree with Liermann that the inscription dates shortly after A.D. 41 (*Analecta Epigraphica* p. 25): he mentions that Henzen dated it after Nerva.

The trade of keeping gladiators, in which (if the restoration of no. 9 be correct) Dionysius, the freedman of an Italian, was engaged, and which also is proved by independent evidence at Eumeneia, was a strictly Italian occupation, and was exotic in Asia; but its existence implies a considerable extension of gladiatorial shows in the province. So far as the references go, it would appear that *venationes* were more popular in Asia Minor than simple gladiatorial shows<sup>1</sup>. Possibly some of the *μονομάχοι* were pitted against animals, but CIG 4039 shows that in Galatia strict gladiatorial shows were often given; and the Asian inscriptions must be interpreted accordingly, and afford an important addition to the literary evidence. Wherever in literature the exposure of Christians to wild beasts is mentioned, we may take it as probable that the *venatio* was accompanied by a show of gladiators; and in several inscriptions the phrase *μνήμα μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσιῶν* occurs; they probably marked tombs connected with schools, while the others quoted are connected with exhibitions.

11. (R. 1881): different in CIG 3954 and Waddington 1693 a. τοῦτο τὸ θέμα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ βωμός ἐστιν Τατίας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς Μοσχᾶ· ἐν ᾧ κεκήδευται ἡμῶν ἢ θυγάτηρ Τατάριν· οὐδενὶ δ' ἐξέσται ἄλλῳ κηδευθῆναι εἰ μὴ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τῷ πατρὶ· εἰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν τελευτὴν ἀπειθήσει τις τῶν προγεγραμμένων, δώσι τῷ Χώρῳ τῷ Ἐλεινοκαπριτῶν δην. φ'.

12. (R. 1884) at Hadji-Eyub-li: Ζωσᾶδι Μολοσῷ ὁ Χῶρος ὁ Κιλαραζέων μν(ε)ίας χάριν· ἐλπίς παροδίταις χέριν (i. e. χαίρειν)<sup>2</sup>.

This inscription, being found at a small village, has probably not been carried far. In that case Kilarazos was near. Ζωσᾶς is taken by Pape as a form of Σωσᾶς, but the latter has genitive Σωσᾶτος. The name Μολο(σ)σός was common at Aphrodisias. It perhaps was introduced by Thracian mercenaries settled by the Pergamenian kings (§ 1), whose language and names were akin to the Epirote. On the adjectival termination αζο or αζιο (as in Σαβάζιος) see Kinch in *Zft. f. Numism.* 1889 p. 192, who considers it Anatolian: -αζο- then is equal to -αιο-.

13. (R. 1891). On a stele from Laodiceia now at Appa. Lettering.

<sup>1</sup> Christians and other condemned criminals were used in them.

<sup>2</sup> 'A hope that passers fare-well,' more commonly 'καὶ σὺ' (χαίρει).



rude and coarse. Ἱεροκλῆς καὶ Ἀπολλώδοτος ἡρώες χρηστοί. παρόδοις χαίριν. Τρυφῶσα ἀνδρὶ κε τέκνῳ τὴν στήλην ἐπόησεν.

14. (R. 1884). At Hadji-Eyub-li<sup>1</sup> [. . . .]s θεῶ ὑψέστῳ εὐχήν.

15. (R. 1891). On a stele now at Appa. Ζωσᾶς ἥρως χρηστέ· χαίρε.

16. Published by M. Kontoleon *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 p. 107. [ἡ δεῖνα Καλλιμόρφῳ ἰδ]ίῳ ἀνδρὶ Θνατειρην[ῶ] ἐκ τῶν εἰδίων αὐτοῦ μνείας χάριν. Καλλίμορφος ὁ καλὸς παροδεῖταις χέρειν. With these two inscriptions compare no. 12.

For other inscriptions of Laodiceia see CIG 3935-49, M. Clerc BCH 1887 p. 351 ff, M. Weber in *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 144 ff, Kaibel *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta* no. 293. CIG 3946 is wrongly attributed to Laodiceia: it belongs to Sardis. In a list of *proxenoi* at Delphi the entry ἐν Λαοδικείαι ταῖ πρ[ὸς . . . .] probably refers to this city, though M. Haussoullier prefers to refer it to some unknown Laodiceia in Aetolia or Locris (BCH 1883 p. 201). An epitaph on Chrysampelos from Laodiceia on the Lycos occurs at Cyzicos (*Ath. Mitth.* 1881 p. 128). Laodiceia is often mentioned in Roman inscriptions, Kaibel 1402, &c. Its inhabitants are usually styled *Phryges* (cp. p. 37) from the geographical district, but occasionally *Asianoι* (Kaibel 1906) from the Roman province. *Addenda.*

## APPENDIX II.

### BISHOPS OF LAODICEIA.

1. Archippus. 2. Nymphas nominated according to *Apostol. Constit.* VII 46 by St. Paul. This is perhaps only an inference from *Coloss.* IV 15; but it may quite possibly have been guaranteed by an independent tradition. Diotrophes? III *Ep. John* 9: this bishop has even less claim than Archippus and Nymphas to rank as historical.

3. Sagaris: martyred 6 Oct. c. 166 A.D.

4. Sisinnios, mentioned in the *Acta S. Artemonis* (12th April). Artemon was a presbyter under him.

5. Le Quien quotes an inscription communicated to him by J. Jebb of Cambridge as authority for a bishop Eugenius, who became bishop

<sup>1</sup> By a slip I formerly attributed this inscription to Assar.



after the close of the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, and remained in office 25 years. I have not been able to learn anything about this inscription; but Eugenius could not be 25 years a bishop, for the persecution ended in 312, and in 325 there was another bishop of Laodiceia<sup>1</sup>.

6. Nounechios *Conc. Nicaen.* A.D. 325.

7. Kekropios, an Arian, transferred by Constantius to Nikomedeia (*Athanas. Ep. ad Solitarios*).

8. Nonnios *Concil. Arian. Philippopol.* 344.

9. Aristonikos *Conc. Ephes.* 431.

10. Nounechios II *Conc. Ephes. II* 448-9, *Conc. Chalced.* 451, *subscr. Epist. ad Leon Imp.* 458, *Conc. Constantinop.* Gennadii.

11. Joannes *Conc. V* 553.

12. Tiberius *Conc. VI* 680.

13. Eustathios *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787.

14. Theodoros, appointed by Ignatius metropolitan of Caria (i.e. Stauro-polis); he joined Photius before 869 and was transferred by him to Laodiceia. On the disgrace of Photius, he rejoined Ignatius: but

15. Sisinnios II seems to have been appointed in his place by Ignatius 869.

16. Paulus and 17 Symeon were both present at *Conc.* 879. Symeon came from Novae Patrae, probably brought by Photius, while Paulus seems to have been an enemy of Photius.

18. Michael 1082 (conventus held by Alexius *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 104).

19. Basilios present at Synod 1147. See *Addenda*.

20. Solomon, archbishop, slain by the Turks in 1158 (*Nicet.* p. 163)<sup>2</sup>.

21. Joannes, see *Addenda*.

22. Theophylaktos present at Synod 1450.

<sup>1</sup> In *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* Eugenius is duly entered in reliance on Le Quien as bishop of Laodiceia for 25 years.

<sup>2</sup> I quote 2, 7, 8, 18, 22, on the authority of Le Quien.



## APPENDIX III.

## PHRYGIA PACATIANA.

IN the lists of the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325, only one province Phrygia is mentioned; and it includes Synnada as well as Laodiceia. The evidence of this document is therefore clear that Phrygia was not yet divided into two parts; but the value to be attached to it is doubtful, and has been keenly disputed. But the following argument, which has I think not been observed, seems to prove conclusively that there were two Phrygias, called Prima and Secunda, in A.D. 325; and that the classified list of bishops, being of a later date, can afford no argument as to the provincial divisions of 325. Moreover it is full of errors in the assignment of cities to provinces (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 392 f).

Gelasius of Cyzicos, in his *Hist. Concil. Nic.* lib. II ch. 35 (written soon after A.D. 477), mentions that Nounechios of Laodiceia was charged to convey the resolutions of the Synod to the Churches in Phrygia Prima and Secunda. Now (1) it appears from the other cases that each bishop who was charged with this duty was charged to a district of several provinces<sup>1</sup>; and it seems improbable that Nounechios alone should have been charged to a single province. (2) Gelasius uses the name Diospontos. Now this name had been disused for at least 150 years when he wrote, since Constantine gave the name Helenopontus to the province. Gelasius therefore must have taken the name from the original documents of the Synod; and the presumption is that he took some at least of the provinces from the original documents. (3) Gelasius speaks of the two provinces as Phrygia Prima and Secunda. But in his time the names Phrygia Pacatiana and Salutaris had come into regular and (so far as we can judge) invariable use for about a century. The following facts may be quoted in proof of this statement. The Verona MS. uses the terms Prima and Secunda, and Polemius Silvius calls the provinces Phrygia Prima<sup>2</sup> and Phrygia Secunda or Salutaris<sup>3</sup>. About 365 Val-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas of Cyzicos is charged to the provinces of Asia, Hellespontus, Lydia, and Caria (we compare this with the inscription (Wilmanns 647) recording that Anicius Paulinus, cos. 334, was *proconsul Asiae et Hellesponti*). Again the Exarch and Bishop of Caesareia is charged to the whole Pontic *dioecesis* (Bithynia is omitted, possibly by a fault of the MSS.). Similarly the

bishops of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Thessalonica, &c. are each charged to great districts, over which they perhaps exercised some influence, as the Exarch of Caesareia certainly did over the bishops of the Pontic Dioecesis.

<sup>2</sup> Prima was omitted in one MS. (S, known only from copies).

<sup>3</sup> One MS. P has Secunda, F and S Salutaris: that seems to show that the



entinian and Valens wrote 'to the bishops of Karophrygia Pacatiana in the Asian Dioecesis<sup>1</sup>.' In 396 the term Phrygia Pacatiana (according to a highly probable correction rejected by Gothofredus but admitted rightly by Wesseling) is used in Cod. Theodos. XI 23, 3; and at *Concil. Constantinop.* A.D. 381 the two Phrygias, Pacatiana and Salutaris, are mentioned. The last, however, may by some be held to be an insufficient authority<sup>2</sup>; and in that case the earliest indubitable occurrence of the term Pacatiana is in the *Notit. Dign. Or.* (c. A.D. 411-3)<sup>3</sup>.

The name Salutaris seems to be of earlier origin. It occurs in a rescript of Constantius and Constans addressed to the senate 359-61 A.D.<sup>4</sup>; and it is used with regard to 366 in the Paschal Chronicle and the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*<sup>5</sup>, and again at Conc. Constantinop. in 381. Its origin before the name Pacatiana is attested by the fact that it alone has penetrated into Polemius Silvius.

These names seem to have become universal during the fifth century; and it is impossible to believe that, if Gelasius had been introducing a distinction unknown to the original documents, he would have employed names which were in all probability unused and unfamiliar in his time (later than 477) and which are found only in documents of the fourth century. He uses those strange old names because he found them in the records of the Synod.

Further, for some time after Phrygia was divided it would appear that the names Pacatiana and Salutaris were unknown. The earliest indubitable reference to the two provinces is at the Council of Sardica in

new popular name, Pacatiana, was substituted for the old official term *Secunda*. After Salutaris was substituted, *Prima* tended to drop from the other name.

<sup>1</sup> Theodoret HE IV 8 quotes the letter. We may suppose that he added the term Pacatiana, which had become more familiar at the time he was writing, to the original term Karophrygia. The Greek text adds *καὶ Γρατιανός*, which would make the date 368-74.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen however rightly holds it a perfectly reliable authority (*Sächs. Abhandl.* II 258 n). It gives Cappadocia undivided; but Valens' attempt to divide it in 371-2 seems to have been successfully resisted. It also has Cilicia undivided; while Lycaonia is properly distinguished from Isauria and

from Pisidia.

<sup>3</sup> Böcking gives the date 400-5 A.D.; but Seeck in his *Quaestiones de Not. Dignit.* contends for the date 411-3.

<sup>4</sup> The date is uncertain. It is later than the institution of the office Praefectus Urbis Constantinopolitanae, A.D. 359 (Böcking *Notit. Dign.* I p. 175) and earlier than 3 Nov. 361, when Constantius died at Mopsoukrene in Cilicia. The rescript orders that appeals from the 'home provinces,' Bithynia Paphlagonia, Lydia, Hellespontus, Insulae, Phrygia Salutaris, Europa, Rhodope, Haemus Mons, shall be directed to the new office. See *Codex Justin.* VII 62, 23, *Cod. Theodos.* I 6, 1 and 10 (in the former Paphlagonia is omitted).

<sup>5</sup> Its occurrence in two documents may be taken as proof that it was used in an older and original authority.



A. D. 341, where they are called Phrygia and Φρυγία ἄλλη; and, besides Prima and Secunda, the names Parva and Magna appear to have been used during the fourth century<sup>1</sup>. These devices were intended to distinguish two Phrygias which had not as yet acquired any universally recognized names, but Pacatiana and Salutaris began to come into use soon after 350 and established themselves in universal use not much later than the end of the fourth century<sup>2</sup>.

It is true that Gelasius in this passage speaks of *Armenia parva et magna*, although the division of Armenia was made only about 386. But this can be explained as an addition made by him. No names for these two provinces ever established themselves: they were always known as I and II (*Not. Dign. Or.*, Hierocles) or Magna and Parva (Polemius Silvius, Verona MS.).

One other argument against the view that Gelasius in this list depended on an early document must be noticed. He speaks of *Cilicia utraque*; but this can quite well be understood of Cilicia Campestris and Tracheia (i. e. Isauria). These are names of early type, which are possible in 325, but hardly possible in 477. Perhaps, however, just as in the case of Armenia, we have here an addition made by Gelasius, referring to the division of Cilicia made about 395-9.

But these cases of additions introduced by Gelasius do not affect the case of Diospontus or Phrygia Magna and Parva, which are of a character that he *could not* introduce. These names go back to 325; but if they are as old as that, it is most improbable that Constantine could have introduced them in the brief space since he had become master of the east. Therefore we reach Mommsen's conclusion that Diocletian divided Phrygia, and Malalas<sup>3</sup> is untrustworthy. Perhaps the argument that

<sup>1</sup> Little Phrygia for Salutaris is used (1) by Metrophanes whose date lies before Syrianus c. 430 (and after Minucianus c. 270, as appears from the references, see index to Walz *Rhet. Graeci*), quoted by Stephanus s.v. Εὐκαρπία. (2) Suidas speaks of Ἀμάχιος as ἄρχων Μικρᾶς Φρυγίας under Julian A. D. 364 (his text has μ. πόλεως Φ., but Socrates III 15 and Sozomen V 11 mention that he was governor of the province, and the facts of the story declare this certainly for they give him power of death). (3) In *Acta Abercii* (dating c. 380-400) the name *Parva* is used. Some MSS. give *Salutaris*, which shows the familiar name at a later date ejecting the un-

familiar. (4) In Hieronymus *lib. nom. locc. ex Actis* (Migne III 1302) we read *Lycaonia provincia Asiae est: et eiusdem nominis civitas est in Phrygia minore*. He probably quotes from some Greek authority who spoke of the bishopric Lykaones in Φρυγία Μικρά.

<sup>2</sup> Zahn, *Forsch. z. Gesch. d. Neutest. Kanons* V p. 62 note, confirms my view on this point against M. Duchesne. See *Addenda*.

<sup>3</sup> It must however be noticed that, so far as his order is any guide, he places the division before the Nicene Council, which he mentions in the following sentence (XIII p. 323).



swayed Malalas was this: Salutaris Phrygia is a province called after the gospel of salvation preached there by St. Paul, and it can only have received that name from Constantine<sup>1</sup>. But, as we have seen, the name Salutaris came into use after 350, whereas the division is much older.

The governors of both Phrygias were simple *praesides* (ἡγεμόνες) about 411–3 (*Notit. Dignit. Or.*): so also A.D. 396 (*Cod. Theodos. XI 23, 3*, reading *Frygiae Pacatiana* and not *Hygiae Palaestina*: see p. 81). But in Hierocles c. 530 the governor of each is given as a *consularis*<sup>2</sup>. Another change occurred in A.D. 536, when Justinian elevated the governor of Phrygia Pacatiana to the rank of *Comes*. At the same time he probably divided Pacatiana into three provinces, one under Hierapolis, and one under Akmonia<sup>3</sup>. In the legendary *acta* of the Laodicean St. Artemon the governor of the province is styled *Comes*; and the tale must probably have taken literary form soon after A.D. 536. It is probable that Flavius Anytos was one of the governors in the sixth century; an inscription styled him τὸν λαμ(πρότατον) κόμητα διοικήσαντα τὴν ἑπαρχὸν ἐξουσίαν (BCH 1887 p. 351).

When the themes were instituted the Lycos valley probably belonged to the Thrakesian Theme<sup>4</sup>; it seems for military purposes to be connected with it rather than with the Anatolic Theme. The account of Constantine Porphyrogenitus assigns all Phrygia Pacatiana to the Anatolic Theme; but his language throughout his description of the Themes is very loose and inaccurate; and he names Khonai, Laodiceia, Hierapolis, in the Thrakesian Theme.

<sup>1</sup> Whether this derivation be correct is uncertain: it was at least generally believed.

<sup>2</sup> So in a Eumenian inscription (of fifth century?) the governor is λαμπρότατος, which implies a member of senate, whereas a simple *praeses* was not so. See *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* no. 20 and the chapter on Eumeneia in this book vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> This division, however, may perhaps have been only for ecclesiastical, not for civil, purposes. The *Notitiae* of the earlier class omit Akmonia and a group of bishoprics around it; and the only explanation of this seems to be that the district was separated from the metropolis of Laodiceia.

<sup>4</sup> So also Schlumberger holds, *Sigillographie de l'Emp. Byz.* p. 254.



## CHAPTER III

### HIERAPOLIS<sup>1</sup>: THE HOLY CITY

§ 1. Situation and Origin p. 84. § 2. Religious Character p. 85. § 3. Mother Leto p. 89. § 4. Leto and Kora p. 91. § 5. The God p. 93. § 6. Matriarchal System p. 94. § 7. The Brotherhood p. 96. § 8. Religion of Burial p. 98. § 9. The God as Ruler and Healer p. 101. § 10. Trade-Guilds p. 105. § 11. History p. 107. § 12. Magistrates and Municipal Institutions p. 109. § 13. The Gerousia p. 110.

Appendices : I. Inscriptions p. 115. II. Bishops p. 120. III. Phrygia Hierapolitana p. 121.

§ 1. SITUATION AND ORIGIN. Facing Laodiceia at a distance of six miles to the north was the 'Holy City,' Hierapolis, situated on a shelf, about 1,100 feet above the sea and 150-300 above the plain, close under the mountains that bound the Lycos valley on the north-east; and twelve miles north-west of Hierapolis, on the west bank of the Maeander, three miles above its junction with the Lycos, was Tripolis, founded by the Pergamenian kings to counterbalance the Seleucid proclivities of Laodiceia. Hierapolis, in contrast to these two Greek cities, which lay one on each side of it, was the centre of native feeling and Phrygian nationality in the valley; and the character of the three cities, each representing a different influence, makes them a representation in miniature of the development of Phrygia throughout the many centuries during which European influence struggled to conquer and hold Phrygia. But, of the three, Hierapolis is best calculated to show us what the Phrygian spirit became under the influence of Greek literature and Roman organization. *Addend.* 28.

Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria met in the Lycos valley. Strabo p. 629

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. C. Humann told me that a party directed by him explored Hierapolis carefully in 1887 (some months after my last visit) and copied over 300 inscriptions. These are certain to add much additional knowledge at some

future time, when they are published. Mr. Hogarth's article on '*The Gerousia of Hierapolis*' in *Journal of Philology* XIX p. 69 f is referred to in this chapter as 'Hogarth p. —.'



and Herodotus VII 3 considered that the boundary between Lydia and Phrygia lay east of Hierapolis, so that this city was Lydian. But Xenophon, *Anab.* I 2, 6, puts the boundary west of Hierapolis, at the crossing of the Maeander, including the city in Phrygia; and this was the generally adopted view, which we shall follow <sup>1</sup>.

Hierapolis is marked by its very name as a religious city. On the analogy of such phrases as 'the Holy City of the Olbians <sup>2</sup>,' we must interpret Hierapolis as the Holy City of the tribe or race which inhabited the district; and this title gradually fixed itself as the name of the city which grew up around the *hieron*. The tribe as a whole was called Hydreleitai <sup>3</sup>, and they appear to have had also another central city, Hydrela or Kydrara, which originally commanded the whole territory bounded by Colossai on the east, Laodiceia on the south, and Mossyna on the north. But the priestly village round the *hieron* grew into a city which under the Empire quite overshadowed Hydrela. Both struck coins; both were in the Cibyratic *conventus*; but the Holy City became one of the greatest centres of Phrygian life, while Hydrela sank into a mere adjunct of Hierapolis and was subject to the bishop of that city in Christian time. But in older times Kydrara was the chief city. Xerxes passed by it on his march from Colossai by the direct road to Sardis. At Kydrara (i.e. in its territory) an inscribed pillar marked the bounds of Lydia and Phrygia. Here the road towards Caria went off to the left (crossing the Lycos, and passing by the temple of Men Karou and the hot springs of Karoura), while that towards Sardis crossed the Maeander and passed by Tripolis and Kallatebos <sup>4</sup>.

§ 2. RELIGIOUS CHARACTER. The history of Hiera-Polis-Kydrara was determined by the natural features of its situation. In no place known to the ancients was the power of Nature more strikingly revealed. The waters of almost all the streams in the Lycos valley deposit limestone; but the splendid hot springs at Hierapolis surpass all the rest in this quality. If a tiny jet of water is made to flow in any direction, it soon constructs for itself a channel of stone <sup>5</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> Even Ptolemy, who retains the old classification of Laodiceia and Tripolis to Caria, ranks Hierapolis in Phrygia.

<sup>2</sup> On coins 'Ολβέων τῆς ἱερᾶς (πόλεως) see Ch. I § 6.

<sup>3</sup> See Ch. V § 9.

<sup>4</sup> M. Radet takes a different view, BCH 1891 p. 376 f, which contradicts our whole scheme of topography of the

Lycos valley, and makes Xerxes march by a circuitous path over more difficult ground for no apparent reason. On the topographical question see pp. 6, 37, 52, 160, 164, 173 n, 174.

<sup>5</sup> Vitruvius, VIII 3, 10, describes the process; and he is confirmed by Strabo, p. 629, and by the eyes of every traveller.



precipices immediately south of the city, about 100 feet or more in height, over which the water tumbles in numerous little streams, have become 'an immense frozen cascade, the surface wavy, as of water in its headlong course suddenly petrified' (Chandler p. 287). The gleaming white rocks, still called Pambuk-Kalessi<sup>1</sup>, arrest the attention of the traveller from the west, at the first glance which is opened to him over the valley<sup>2</sup>.

Even more remarkable than this was the Ploutonion or Charonion (Strabo pp. 580, 629), a hole just wide enough to admit a man, reaching deep into the earth, from which issued a mephitic vapour, the breath of the realm of death. In the fourth century the hole had disappeared<sup>3</sup>, and the poisonous character of the exhalations was a tradition of the past. But Strabo had seen the place, and had experimented on sparrows, and he assures us that the vapour killed living things exposed to it. There is other evidence to the effect that not merely in Hierapolis, but also in many places in Phrygia, the mephitic vapour from holes in the earth drew down birds flying over them<sup>4</sup>; this is perhaps only an exaggerated statement of the facts as mentioned by Strabo.

Between A.D. 19 and 380 the Charonion had disappeared<sup>5</sup>. What was the reason? I think we must attribute it to the action of the Christians, who had deliberately filled up and covered over the place, the very dwelling-place of Satan. Christian tradition has preserved

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Cotton-Castle. The name is often corrupted in the peasants' language into meaningless forms like Tambuk; and this has led some recent travellers, who show a praiseworthy accuracy, but are not familiar with the extraordinary tendency of the peasants in Turkey to distort names, to doubt the reality of the name Pambuk.

<sup>2</sup> The name Chrysoroas, applied to a river-god on coins of Hierapolis, must designate the hot-spring, whose abundant water has formed the very surface of the ground on which the city stands, and was the cause of its attractiveness and of its religious importance. My friend Mr. Walker told me that its waters, after tumbling over the cliffs, flow for a short distance south through the plain until they reach a hole in the ground into which they disappear. I have not seen this phenomenon, which

is unknown to all the travellers; but Mr. Walker is a perfect authority on such a point. The Chrysorrhoas is given, as it were, by 'the God' to enrich Hierapolis, and is then taken back to himself. See Ch. VI § 1.

<sup>3</sup> 'Foramen apud Hierapolim Phrygiae antehac, ut adserunt aliqui, videbatur: unde emergens . . . noxius spiritus perseveranti odore quidquid prope venerat corrumpebat, absque spadonibus solis.' Ammian. XXIII 6, 18.

<sup>4</sup> ῥῆγμα . . . τοὺς ὑπερπετομένους τῶν ὀρνίθων ἐπισπώμενον, ὡς Ἀθήνησί τ' ἰδεῖν ἔστιν ἐν προδόμῳ τοῦ Παρθενῶνος καὶ πολλοῦ τῆς Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν γῆς, Philostr. vit. Apoll. II 10.

<sup>5</sup> Some scholars quote Ammianus as saying merely that the Charonion had lost its poisonous properties; but he says clearly that it was no longer visible.



a distorted memory of the facts. The Apostle Philip was described as the evangelist of Tripolis, and as closely connected also with Hierapolis. There his chief enemy was the Echidna, in which form Satan deluded the inhabitants of Hierapolis. John, who had already expelled the abominable Artemis from Ephesos, visited Philip in Hierapolis, and the united efforts of the two Apostles drove away the Echidna<sup>1</sup>. It lay in the character and nature of tradition to attribute the expulsion of the Echidna to the Apostles; but history, if materials for writing it survived, would show the Echidna surviving as the chief enemy of Christianity throughout the second and third centuries. It is probable that the Christians took advantage of the victory of Constantine over Licinius to destroy the Charonion: that would imply that the new religion was the ruling power within the city in 320 A.D., which is probable from other reasons.

Now let us consider the character of the Anatolian religion. Its essence lies in the adoration of the life of Nature—that life subject apparently to death, yet never dying but reproducing itself in new forms, different and yet the same. This perpetual self-identity under varying forms, this annihilation of death through the power of self-reproduction, was the object of an enthusiastic worship, characterized by remarkable self-abandonment and immersion in the divine, by a mixture of obscene symbolism and sublime truths, by negation of the moral distinctions and family ties that exist in a more developed society, but do not exist in the free life of Nature. The mystery of self-reproduction, of eternal unity amid temporary diversity, is the key to explain all the repulsive legends and ceremonies that cluster round that worship, and all the manifold manifestations or diverse embodiments of the ultimate single divine life that are carved on the rocks of Asia Minor, especially at Pteria (Boghaz-Keui).

Hierapolis was marked as a seat of such a religion, and a place of approach to God; and a great religious establishment (*hieron*) existed there. As Greek manners and language spread, a Greek name for the city came into use. At first it was called Hiero-polis, the city of the *hieron*; and on a few coins of Augustus this name appears. But as the Greek spirit became stronger in the Lycos valley, the strict Greek form, Hiera Polis, established itself<sup>2</sup>. Under the Roman

<sup>1</sup> See M. Bonnet *Narratio de Mirac. Chonis patr.* 1. This document, as we have it, was written in the eighth or ninth century (*Church in Emp.* Ch. XIX). If we possessed the *Acta Philippi* complete, we should probably find an older

tradition, which had taken shape before the Charonion disappeared. *Add.* 15.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout the hellenized East the same rule holds. Such cities are originally called Hiero-polis, the city round the *hieron*; when the city becomes more



Empire, Hierapolis was penetrated with the Graeco-Roman civilization, as is natural from its geographical position, and as is proved by the personal names in the inscriptions, few of which are Anatolian, while Greek and even Latin names abound<sup>1</sup>. Greek became the sole language of the city, and a veneer of Greek civilization spread over it; but the veneer was much thinner than at Laodiceia or Apameia. Hierapolis maintained its importance through its religious position; and its remains and history bear witness to the strength of the religious feeling in it. The religion continued to be Lydo-Phrygian, and even Greek names for the gods were used less in Hierapolis than in many other cities.

Even on coins, which usually show the hellenized spirit most strongly, many traces of a native religious character appear, the gods  $\Lambda\text{AIPBHNOC}$ ,  $\text{APXHΓETHC}$ ,  $\text{ZEYC} \cdot \text{BOZIOC}$ <sup>2</sup>,  $\text{ZEYC} \cdot \text{TPΩIOC}$ , and the heroes  $\text{MOYOC}$  and  $\text{TOPPHBOC}$ <sup>3</sup> (the former probably symbolizing the prophetic power, and the latter the priestly office; Mopsos is widely known as a prophet from Colophon to Cilicia; Torrebos, clad in a long cloak, holds a statuette of the goddess, and leans on a lyre). Such types as Hades-Serapis with Kerberos, Men, Rape of Proserpina, Men standing or on horseback (called generally an Amazon), head of the Sun-god radiated, Apollo bearing the lyre, Dionysos, Asklepios, Nemesis, and Selene in *biga*, illustrate the character of the cultus; and the type of a bull's head, surmounted by a crescent and two stars, is also connected.

thoroughly grecized, the name becomes Hierapolis. Often we find that literary men used the correct term Hierapolis, where the city officials and the vulgar used Hieropolis. See p. 107.

<sup>1</sup> The following are of the native type: Akylas, Apphios, Attadianos (a hybrid formation; Hogarth, perhaps rightly, alters to Attalianos), Attiakos, Molybas, Motalis, Myllos or Moulos (both on one sarcophagus), Tatios. On Passtillas see no. 25.

<sup>2</sup> On the title Bozios see Ch. IV § 11.

<sup>3</sup>  $\text{TOPPHBOC}$  is the correct reading, as Mr. Head now informs me; it is wrongly given  $\text{TOPPHCOC}$  in his *Hist. Num.* (a letter on the coin being blurred). Torrebos introduced the Lydian style of music (Plut. *de Mus.* 15), which is naturally connected with the representation on this coin: as the

representative of the priestly function (and doubtless as the first priest at the *hieron*), Torrebos introduced the music which was employed in the Lydian ritual. Torrebos was son of Atys (Xanthus *ap.* Dion. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* I 28); in other words he was a Lydian form of Atys, the first priest of the Phrygian goddess. When Knaack (*Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* 1890 p. 1643, to whom I am indebted for the quotations from Plutarch and Dion. Hal.) says that on this coin *die gegenüberstellung hat keine tiefere Bedeutung*, he hardly catches its meaning. The prophetic and the priestly functions of the *hieron* are put side by side as equally important at Hierapolis. Whether this be a *deep* meaning or not, it is at least a very important one, as showing the character of Phrygian religion.



§ 3. MOTHER LETO. There is a deep gorge in the mountains, two or three miles north of Mandama, a village about six miles N.W. of Hierapolis<sup>1</sup>. In this gorge there is a large rude cave with no trace of artificial cutting, on the roof and sides of which many *graffitti* are rudely inscribed. Only one of these could be deciphered, a dedication by Flavianus Menogenes to 'the Goddess,' no. 17<sup>2</sup>.

We may compare the account given by Pausanias X 32 of the cave Steunos at Aizanoi, sacred to Cybele (see also Ch. VIII § 9). The deity to whom Flavianus addressed himself was 'The Goddess' of the district, the tutelary deity of the mountains, whose sanctuary was this rude cave. She is the great goddess of Hierapolis, Leto or Mother Leto, who was worshipped also beyond the mountains at Dionysopolis, just as the 'Mother of Sipylos' was the tutelary deity both of Smyrna on the south and of Magnesia on the north of Mount Sipylos.

The Mother-Goddess had her chosen home in the mountains, amid the undisturbed life of Nature, among the wild animals who continue free from the artificial and unnatural rules constructed by men. Her chosen companions are the lions, strongest of animals, or the stags, the fleetest inhabitants of the woods. As Professor E. Curtius says, 'the spirit of this naturalistic cultus leads the servants of the goddess, while engaged in her worship, to transform themselves into the semblance of her holy animals, stag, cow, or bear, or of plants which stand in relation to her worship.' Hence we find that 'the baskets danced' before Artemis Koloëne beside the Gygaean Lake, near Sardis (Strabo p. 626), and women wearing crowns of reeds danced before the Spartan Artemis. Lakes, like mountains, were often chosen by the goddess as her home. But her life was seen everywhere in Nature, in the trees, in the crops, in all vegetation, in all animal life, and in many beings intermediate between men and animals, Seilenoi, &c., who were closer to her because they retained the free life of Nature.

The great religious festival of Hierapolis was the Letoia, named after the goddess Leto. She was a local variety of the Mother-goddess, who was worshipped under many names but with practical identity of character in all parts of Asia Minor. The epithet 'Mother

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<sup>1</sup> Ak-Tcheshme (*White Fountain*) is another name for the village: Mandama is perhaps an ancient word. The village, which lies on the direct road from Serai-Keui to Tchal Ova, may perhaps be in the territory of Hydrela,

but there can be no question that the religion of Hydrela and Hierapolis was the same.

<sup>2</sup> With time and appliances probably others might be read.



Leto' has not actually been yet found at Hierapolis, but may be confidently assumed from the analogy of Dionysopolis (Ch. IV § 9). The votive formula from the cave of the goddess, no. 17, was specially connected with the worship of Leto. The goddess of this name can be traced in the following districts:

(1) In the Lydian Katakekaumene, *Mous. Sm.* no.  $\tau\kappa\zeta'$  (where the text is faulty),  $\text{'Απολῶνιος Δραλᾶς δυνατῇ θεῶ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῶ}$ . But in this district Leto was more frequently called by the Greek name Artemis, or by the Persian name Anaitis; the latter was introduced by the colonists whom the Persian kings settled in eastern Lydia<sup>1</sup>.

(2) Along the whole line of Mount Messogis to the sea. Strabo (p. 629) considers Messogis as the same range with the mountains behind Hierapolis, and this is so in the sense that Messogis is a prolongation of the plateau of which the Hierapolitan range is the rim. A festival at Hierapolis (and also one at Tripolis) was called  $\text{ΛΗΤΩΕΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ}$ , uniting the two great deities, Leto and Apollo. At Dionysopolis and Motella examples are given in Ch. IV. A coin of Tripolis, with the legend  $\text{ΛΗΤΩ ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΩΝ}$ , shows the goddess sitting, sceptre in hand. The type of Leto fleeing before Pytho with the infants, Apollo and Artemis, occurs on coins of Tripolis, Attouda, Mastaura, and Magnesia Mae.; also at Ephesos with the legend  $\text{ΛΗΤΩ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ}$  (Imhoof-Blumer MG p. 285). At Magnesia on the Maeander the river Lethaios, which flows out of Messogis, was probably the river of Leto, grecized in accordance with the false derivation from  $\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\eta$ . In Ephesos we find the same votive formula as in no. 17  $\text{εὐχαριστῶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι Στέφανος}$  (*Inscr. Brit. Mus.* DLXXIX),  $\text{εὐχαριστῶ σοι, Κυρία}^2 \text{ Ἀρτεμι, Γ. Σκάπτιος}$  (*ibid.* DLXXVIII).

(3) Further south we find Leto before-the-city at Oinoanda (BCH 1886 p. 234). In Lycia, generally, Leto was worshipped as a national and family deity and as the guardian of the tomb (Benndorf *Lykia* i p. 118; Treuber *Gesch. d. Lykier* p. 69 f).

(4) In Western Pisidia and Milyas we find Leto as the guardian of the tomb (no. 194), and a dedication 'to Apollo and Apollo's Mother' (no. 100).

(5) In Pamphylia we find at Perga a priest of Pergaeian Leto ( $\text{ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Λητοῦς τῆς Περγαίων πόλεως}$ ), where she seems to be the same as the Queen of Perga ( $\text{Ἀνασσα Περγαία}$ ), usually known by

<sup>1</sup> Their aim, doubtless, was to plant these Asiatics along the Royal Road, leading from Sardis to the governing centre of the Empire of Susa, to keep

it secure under their faithful guardianship.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the epithet  $\text{κύριος}$  given to Lairbenos at Dionysopolis, p. 150.



the Greek name Artemis<sup>1</sup>. A Messapian inscription has the expression Artemis-Leto, where Deecke errs in separating the names by a comma (*Rh. Mus.* 1887 p. 232).

In this enumeration we observe that the traces of the name Leto point to the south coast and an influence radiating from it, coming probably from Cyprus through Perga. The Leto of this district is ultimately the same as the Cybele of northern and eastern Phrygia; and she is accompanied by the male deity, her son, Savazos—Sabazios—Sozon (Ch. VIII) or Lairbenos, as Cybele is by Attes or Atys. The two pairs probably sprang from the same origin; and after travelling along different roads, they met in Ephesos and in the Lydian Katakekaumene. My friend Prof. Robertson Smith's suggestion that Lato is the old Semitic Al-lat ('*Αλιλάτ* in Herod. I 131, III 8) agrees well with the geographical facts; and the name Lato would then be due to Semitic influence exerted on Asia Minor<sup>2</sup>.

§ 4. LETO AND KORA. Further, in the list which has just been given, we observe that Leto is identified with Artemis; the mother and the daughter are only two slightly differentiated forms of the ultimate divine personality in its feminine aspect. The daughter is the mother reappearing in the continuity of life; the child replaces the parent, different and yet the same. Leto, the Mother, and Kora, the Maiden, are the divine prototypes of earthly life; the divine nature is as complex as humanity, and contains in itself all the elements which appear in our earthly life. But how does Kora originate? There must be in the ultimate divine nature the male element as well as the female, *ὁ Θεός* as well as *ἡ Θεός*. From the union of the two originates the daughter-goddess. But even this is not sufficient: the son also is needed, and he is the offspring of the daughter-goddess and her father. The story of the life of these divine personages formed the ritual of the Phrygian religion. In the mysteries, the story was acted before the worshippers by the officials, who played the parts of the various characters in the divine

<sup>1</sup> In publishing this inscription (BCH 1883 p. 263), I did not observe that this goddess of Perga, Leto, must be the same as the Artemis of Perga. Treuber takes the same incorrect sense as I did: *Gesch. d. Lykier* p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> I had thought of connecting Leto with the Lycian *lada*, 'woman,' understanding Leto Meter as 'the proto-woman, the mother'; but Prof. Smith's

suggestion seems preferable. Leda is, doubtless, the Lycian *lada*. Al-lât or Al-ilât is usually explained as Al-Ilâhat, 'the Goddess,' as Allah is for Al-Ilah, 'the God.' Professor Sayce, however, makes Alilat the feminine of helem 'the shining one' (on Herod. I 131); though acknowledging that there are difficulties in this derivation, he thinks there are more serious difficulties in the other.



drama. The details of the mystic play are very fully described by Clement of Alexandria<sup>1</sup>. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the description which he has given, for many of its details, repulsive as some and trivial as others are, are proved from independent evidence. Clement describes them as Eleusinian, for they had spread to Eleusis as the rites of Demeter and Kora, crossing from Asia to Crete, and from Crete to the European peninsula. Fundamentally the same, this ritual was developed with slight differences in detail in the different homes to which it spread in Asia Minor and Greece. The different peoples who adopted it imparted to it some of their national character; and especially the Greeks toned it down, imparted to it some of their moderation and artistic feeling, and set it before the initiated amid far finer and more magnificent surroundings; but still it remained everywhere fundamentally the same<sup>2</sup>.

This 'fundamental identity' must not be pressed too far. It seems indeed beyond a doubt that the Phrygo-Orphic mystic ritual was adopted in the Eleusinian Mysteries; but the change of spirit and effect was immense. At Eleusis<sup>3</sup> 'the Mysteries were an attempt of the Hellenic genius to take into its service the spirit of Oriental religion' and its enthusiastic self-forgetfulness in the contemplation of the divine nature. But the Greeks must have found in their Oriental model the essential idea of the Mysteries, that 'the multitude of deities in the polytheistic system were merely forms of the ultimate single divine nature.' The literary attempt (in the Homeric poems especially) to make polytheism a conceivable system to a rational mind by the theory that the multitude of gods formed a sort of bureaucracy, which shared among the different members different parts of the duties naturally belonging to God, under the general superintendence of a chief God and Father Zeus, had no real religious feeling about it; and degenerated into a comedy first and then a farce. The Oriental, and especially the Phrygian Mysteries, met the natural and overwhelming desire for a rational system by their

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alexandr. *protrept.* c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See especially Foucart *Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs* p. 72 f. Many authorities consider that Clement is wrong in describing the ritual as Eleusinian, and that it is only Phrygian and Orphic. Lenormant, in his important series of articles in the *Contemporary Review* (1880), took the view that the Eleusinian Mysteries were contaminated with the Phrygian and

Orphic rites at a late period. I may be permitted to refer also to my article *Mysteries* in the *Encyclop. Britannica* ed. IX.

<sup>3</sup> In this paragraph I make some extracts from my article on 'Mysteries' *loc. cit.*, which, though requiring some improvements and modifications, expresses approximately the view that is required by the facts collected in this work.



teaching of the divine unity-in-multiplicity. The social side of the Phrygian cult was rejected by the Greeks; the acts and ceremonies remained to a considerable extent the same, with the meaning and spirit changed, just as the Aphrodite of Praxiteles retained the attitude and gesture of the rude Phoenician image of Astarte. 'All that gave elevation and ideality was added by the Hellenic genius' to the Phrygian Mysteries and to the Phoenician idol. But, with all their ugliness, the Phrygian Mysteries must always remain one of the most instructive and strange attempts of the human mind in an early stage of development to frame a religion, containing many germs of high conceptions expressed in the rudest and grossest symbolism, deifying the natural processes of life in their primitive nakedness, and treating all that veiled or modified or restrained or directed these processes as impertinent outrages of man on the divine simplicity.

§ 5. THE GOD. In the public form of the religion, as it appears in the municipal ceremonies and on the coins and in public documents, we find that in some cities the goddess is made more prominent, in other places the god is put more forward. The difference is merely incidental and external; and there is no reason to think that it corresponds to any difference in the esoteric and mystic ceremonial. On the whole Greek influence tended to lay more stress on the god, to regard him as the chief and lord and father; and accordingly he is more prominent in the religion as associated with municipal government. The connexion of political and religious organization was far more close and intimate in ancient than in modern times; social and political union were merely different aspects of religious union, and the one could not exist, or be thought of as existing, without the other (*Church in Emp.* p. 190 f).

Another point of importance remains to be noticed in the Hierapolitan religion. The eunuch priests of the *hieron* were able to defy the poisonous influence of the Charonion and live in its divine atmosphere unharmed. These priests, having separated themselves from the world, already possessed some of the divine nature, and could support unharmed the terrors of the world of death. What light does this throw on the nature of the religion? It implies that the annihilation of the distinction of sex brings the man closer to the divine life. The distinction of sex, therefore, is not an ultimate and fundamental fact of the divine life: the god and the goddess, the Son and the Maiden, are mere appearances of the real and single divine life that underlies them. That life is self-complete, self-sufficient, continually existent; the idea of change, of diversity, of passage from form to form, i. e. of death, comes in with the idea of sex-distinction.



Hence it is part of the religion to confuse in various ways the distinction; to make the priest neither male nor female, and to make mutilation the test of willingness to enter the divine service.

§ 6. MATRIARCHAL SYSTEM. The male deity seems to be considered as a companion of the Mother-goddess of inferior rank to her. In this cultus there was no holy marriage to form the central rite in the cultus, the prototype of human marriage and the guarantee of family life on earth. The impregnation of the Mother-goddess formed part of the sacred ritual enacted in the Mysteries; but it seems everywhere to have been an act of violence, or stealth, or deception. This first act, the birth of the daughter, is followed by the second act, the generation of the son, which again is an act of deception and violence, enacted by the god in the form of a serpent (the Echidna of Hierapolis)<sup>1</sup>. The religion originated among a people whose social system was not founded on marriage, and among whom the mother was head of the family, and relationship was counted only through her. Long after a higher type of society had come into existence in Phrygia, the religion preserved the facts of the primitive society; but it became esoteric, and the facts were only set forth in the Mysteries. When, then, had the change from the old social system to the new occurred? On this we possess no evidence, merely general presumptions, which will be stated in a more suitable place. But it is clear that in the Roman period the old system had not entirely disappeared; it still existed as a religious institution, permitted by the popular opinion, and recognized by law. The inscriptions reveal to us cases in which women of good position felt themselves called upon to live the divine life, under the influence of divine inspiration. The typical case is recorded in an inscription of Tralleis (no. 18).

<sup>1</sup> This incident is widely spread in ancient religion, ritual, and mythology. In Rome the *Bona Dea* was deceived in that way by her father Faunus (Macrob. I 12, 24; Plutarch *Vit. Caes.* 9). In the Phrygian mysteries, the incident is represented sometimes as occurring between the God and the Mother-goddess (Athenag. *leg. pro Christ.* p. 295 d), sometimes between the God and the Daughter (Clem. Alex. *l. c.*). In the ritual women imitated the divine action, see e.g. a relief in the Louvre, described by M. Heuzey in his *Mission Archéol. en Macédoine*, and M. Foucart

*Assoc. Relig.* p. 78. In mythology the birth of heroes, and even historical persons such as Alexander the Great, was accounted for in this way. The serpent, *ἔχιδνα* in Hierapolis, was usually the species with swollen cheeks (*παρείας*); and he impersonated Sabazios; hence, when the superstitious man of Theophrastus saw a *παρείας ὄφις* in his house, he invoked Sabazios. See Dieterich on *die Göttin Mithra* in *Philologus* LII 1893 p. 1 f, where much information about the character of the Phrygian cultus is to be found; also the additional article by Bloch in the same volume p. 577.



The commentary on this inscription is contained in Strabo's account, p. 532, of the social customs which existed in Akilisene in his own time, and which, as he says, formerly existed in Lydia. 'They dedicate (to Anaitis) male and female slaves, and this, in itself, is not strange; but even the highest nobles consecrate their daughters while virgins, and among them the rule is that they live as courtesans before the goddess for a long time before they are given in marriage, while no one thinks it unworthy to dwell with a woman of this class.' The inscription shows that the custom survived in Lydia as late as the second century: the person here concerned is of good rank, as is proved by the Latin name of her family<sup>1</sup>. She comes of ancestors who have served before the god with asceticism (unwashed feet) and prostitution; she has served in the same way in accordance with the express orders of the god; and she records her service in a public dedication<sup>2</sup>. This is not likely to have been an isolated case, for it appears, from the publicity given to it, to have involved no infamy. Strabo seems to imply that at Komana Pontica this kind of service was confined, as a rule, but not absolutely, to the class of persons called *Hierai*<sup>3</sup>. Other persons, however, besides the *Hierai* occasionally performed the service; and the Trallian inscription gives a typical case of such voluntary service.

This inscription enables us to understand many other inscriptions. Suppose L. Aurelia Aemilia had had a child during her service, what would have been its legal status? Were such children reckoned legitimate or illegitimate? The answer to this question is important, as determining the attitude of the country law towards the custom. I think that at least in the cities where Greek civilization had not thoroughly established itself, they were reckoned legitimate and took the rank of their mother. They are mentioned in inscriptions with the mother's name in place of the father's, and even with the formula 'of unknown father'<sup>4</sup>. The ancient social system had, therefore,

<sup>1</sup> She is not of an Italian but of a Lydian family; an Italian woman would not be named L. Aurelia Aemilia, for the name offends against Latin rules of nomenclature.

<sup>2</sup> The marble column on which it was inscribed supported some offering.

<sup>3</sup> *πλήθος γυναικῶν τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος, ὧν αἱ πλείους εἰσὶν ἱεραί*, Strabo p. 559. The *Hierai* were bound to the divine service (see pp. 135, 147).

<sup>4</sup> It is possible to explain away some

of these cases, and in particular to say that there was not always a very strict scrutiny of the qualifications of citizens, since, e.g., freedmen were allowed as full ordinary citizens (*δημόται*) and as members of Gerousia at Sidyma; but we also find senators and *strategoi* quoted with the mother's name in place of the father's, and the scrutiny in such cases was necessarily strict. It must be remembered that the statement of the father's name is required as part of the



never been abolished, but simply decayed slowly before the advance of Graeco-Roman civilization. It lingered longer in remote districts than in the cities of the west<sup>1</sup>.

It is, in fact, probable though with our present knowledge not susceptible of proof, that the term Parthenos in connexion with the Anatolian system should be rendered simply as 'the Unmarried,' and should be regarded as evidence of the religious existence of the pre-Greek social system. The Parthenos-goddess was also the Mother; and however much the Parthenoi who formed part of her official retinue<sup>2</sup> may have been modified by Greek feeling, it is probable that originally the term indicated only that they were not cut off by marriage from the divine life.

Incidentally we note that the discrepancy between the religious ritual and the recognized principles of society contributed to the extraordinarily rapid spread of Christianity in Asia Minor. The religion was not in keeping with the facts of life; and in the general change of circumstances and education that accompanied the growth of Roman organization in the country, the minds of men were stimulated to thought and ready for new ideas. In the country generally a higher type of society was maintained; whereas at the great temples the primitive social system was kept up as a religious duty incumbent on the class called *Hierai* during their regular periods of service at the temple, as is proved by the inscriptions found at Dionysopolis. The chasm that divided the religion from the educated life of the country became steadily wider and deeper. In this state of things St. Paul entered the country; and, wherever education had already been diffused, he found converts ready and eager. Those who believe that the tale of St. Thekla<sup>3</sup> is founded on a real incident will recognize in it a vivid picture of the life of the time, helping us to appreciate the reason for the marvellous and electrical effect that is attributed in *Acts* to the preaching of the Apostle in Galatia (p. 137).

§ 7. THE BROTHERHOOD. The God at Hierapolis is styled Lairbenos (on which name see Ch. IV) and Archegetes on coins, and Apollo Archegetes on inscriptions. The title Archegetes marks him as the

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formal designation of a citizen in political and legal documents, and the cases of descent reckoned through the mother are so numerous that we must admit that law and custom admitted such birth as legitimate. Examples are quoted on inscr. 21.

<sup>1</sup> See the large proportion of cases in the little Isaurian city of Dalisandos (Headlam JHS 1892 p. 1).

<sup>2</sup> For example *ἱερατείας παρθένοι* at Teos CIG 3098.

<sup>3</sup> See *Church in the Roman Empire* Chapter XVI.



originator and teacher of the mysteries and ritual to his worshippers<sup>1</sup>: in Greece Apollo Archegetes was the adviser and guide of the emigrants and colonists who went forth from its shores to find homes and food in more productive lands. The most remarkable point which we find in the inscriptions is the institution of *Semeiaphoroi* of Apollo Archegetes no. 19, who have been explained by Hogarth p. 80 as a class of professional wonder-workers, like those eastern dervishes in modern times, who cut themselves with knives, and do other wonders under the influence of religious excitement. It is, however, more probable that the *Semeiaphoroi* are to be compared with the *Xenoi Tekmoreioi*, who will be described more fully in a later chapter<sup>2</sup>. The latter had a secret sign (τέκμωρ), whereby presumably they recognized members of the Brotherhood, and the *Bearers of the Sign* (σημείον) may be identified with them. To judge from their name *Xenoi*, the Guest-friends, they must have made hospitality one of their duties. Like all ancient societies, they united under religious forms, in Hierapolis in the worship of Apollo, near Pisidian Antioch in the worship of the Great Artemis of the Limnai. They made voluntary contributions towards a common treasury, from which works of architecture and sculpture were constructed for the good of their common religion. Considering that religion was fundamentally the same over the plateau of Asia Minor, we should expect to find this institution widely spread over the country; and an interesting passage in the travels of the Arab from Tangier, Ibn Batuta, enables us to trace similar societies in the Moslem cities of the Seljuk empire. These cities were peopled to a large extent by the old races, who had adopted the Mohammedan religion, but maintained many of their old social forms and among others that of the Brotherhood. Ibn Batuta mentions this institution as existing in the Anatolian towns which he visited. He saw the Brothers at Antalia<sup>3</sup>, Burdur, Lādhik, Kunia (Iconium), and implies that they existed generally in the Seljuk towns. His words are 'in all the Turkoman<sup>4</sup> towns which I visited

<sup>1</sup> Strab. p. 468 Ἰακχόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον [οἱ Ἕλληνες] καλοῦσι καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τῶν μυστηρίων, τῆς Δήμητρος δαίμονα.

<sup>2</sup> On them see *Hist. Geogr.* p. 409 f.

<sup>3</sup> This is a common form of Attaleia in Pamphylia, now called Adalia. It is given as Anatolia in Lee's translation p. 68; time is about 1333 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> Though he says Turkoman, he evidently uses this term for the Seljuk

towns in Anatolia. Many facts combine to show how little change was introduced into Asia Minor by the Seljuk rulers (as distinguished from the Ottoman Turks); and the remaining buildings prove that they maintained a high standard of art and magnificence (very unlike the slovenly disrepair and meanness of almost everything due to the Osmanli sultans).



there is a brotherhood of youths, one of whom is termed "My Brother." No people are more courteous to strangers, more readily supply them with food and other necessities, or are more opposed to oppressors than they are. The person who is termed "The Brother" is one about whom persons of the same occupation or even foreign youths, who happen to be destitute, collect and constitute their president. He then builds a cell, and in this he puts a horse, a saddle, and whatever other implements may be wanting. He then attends daily upon his companions, and assists them with whatever they may happen to want. In the evening they come to him, and bring all they have got, which is sold to purchase food, fruit, &c. for the use of the cell. Should a stranger happen to arrive in their country, they get him among them, and with this provision they entertain him; nor does he leave them till he finally leaves their country. If however no traveller arrive, then they assemble to eat up their provisions, which they do with drinking, singing and dancing. On the morrow they return to their occupations, and in the evening return again to their president. They are therefore styled "the Youths," their president "the Brother." The Brothers invited Ibn Batuta to a feast at Adalia, where the Brotherhood was a society of 200 silk merchants. At Burdur they invited him to a feast in a garden without the town. At Lādhik different societies of youths contended for the privilege of entertaining him, and divided the duty among them by lot.

§ 8. RELIGION OF BURIAL. Naturally we turn to the graves and monuments of the dead to find there evidence of the deepest-lying feelings and religious ideas which come out in the presence of death. Among primitive people, the monuments are almost exclusively sepulchral; and this is to a great extent the case at Hierapolis, where the road that leads to Tripolis and the west is still lined with hundreds of inscribed monuments, some of large size and imposing appearance. The care which was taken of the graves was remarkable. There was a guardian of the graves along the road<sup>1</sup>, who shared sometimes in the money that was left for distribution annually among those who went on the anniversary of death to place a garland of flowers on the tomb (*Stephanotikon*). But the most remarkable feature here and in every part of Phrygia is the anxiety to prevent the interment of unprivileged persons in the grave. It is not simply desire to prevent the monument being destroyed; that feeling sometimes appears, but the danger was not so pressing, and in many cases the only offence pro-

<sup>1</sup> ὁ κατὰ τόπον τηρητὴς τοῦ ἔργου Wadd. 1680 (cp. no. 192 below). In Petronius

71 Trimalchio says *praeponam unum ex libertis sepulcro meo custodiae causa*.



vided against is the intrusion of a corpse. In the inscriptions the offence is made punishable by fines of varying amount, payable to the city, the imperial treasury, the deity of the city, the senate, or more frequently the Gerousia, the chief city of the *conventus*<sup>1</sup>, some official, &c. (the hope being that the reward would ensure the prosecution of offenders); in other cases, the offender is merely cursed in more or less strong terms, or consigned to the divine judgement or wrath. In Greece we find little trace of this feeling; the few examples of such epitaphs in Greece are probably of foreigners. But in Asia Minor it is so widespread and deep-seated that it must have a religious foundation. Intrusion of an illegal participator must have involved some loss to the rightful dwellers in the grave. This implies that belief in a future existence was part of the Phrygian religion, and also that the actual monument and tomb was connected with the future lot of the deceased. What meaning, then, had the tomb to the native mind?

Under the Roman Empire two kinds of sepulchral monument were commonly used in Phrygia, where the primitive customs were far more thoroughly preserved than in Lydia<sup>2</sup>. One is a slab of marble or other stone cut to imitate a doorway; the door-posts, the two valves, the lintel, and generally a pointed or rounded pediment above, are all indicated; one or two knockers usually appear on the door, and symbols are often carved on the panels or in the pediment. On such a tombstone there is no suitable place for an inscription; but an epitaph is usually engraved on some part of the stone. The door as an accompaniment of the grave is found in Phrygia from the earliest period to which our knowledge extends; in the tomb of Midas and many others the door is part of the elaborately carved front. Now many graves in Phrygia, Lycia, Pisidia, &c., have the form of small temples. Even the sarcophagi are frequently made like miniature temples. The door-tombstone we may take to be an indication of the temple, the part being put for the whole.

The second kind of tombstone has the form of an altar—a square pillar (very rarely a circular one) with pedestal and capital, usually of very simple type, but sometimes elaborately decorated. In the inscriptions the name ‘altar’ is commonly applied to the monuments of this form; but in several cases the word ‘door,’ and in one case ‘the altar and the door,’ is engraved on a different side of the altar-

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<sup>1</sup> So at Aigai (Pergamos) and Lagbe (Cibyra), see Ch. VIII § 11 and p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Lydia had become almost completely hellenized, and the Lydian language had entirely disappeared from use in the country before A.D. 19, though it was still spoken in Cibyra (Strabo p. 631).



stone. These inscriptions show how important an idea in the tomb the door was reckoned.

These classes of monuments constitute 90 per cent. of the existing gravestones in Phrygia; and, of the remaining 10 per cent., five can be explained as developments of the idea of a temple. The dead man is therefore conceived as living on as a god, and as receiving worship; and the door is intended as the passage for communication between the world of life and the world of death, giving him freedom to issue forth to help his worshippers. On the altar the living placed the offerings due to the dead. Further, many inscriptions, which will be given in due course, show that the dead person was conceived to be identified with the divine nature. The life of man has come from God, and returns to Him. One single monument in Phrygia shows the door of the grave opened, and we are admitted to contemplate *τὰ ἱερὰ μυστήρια*; inside we find no place or room for a dead body, only the statue of the Mother-Goddess accompanied by her lions. So in Lydia before the time of Homer, the Maeonian chiefs, sons of the Gygaean lake (Il. II 865), or of the Naiad Nymph who bore them by the lake (Il. XX 384), are buried in the mounds, which we still see in numbers on its shores. For these heroes death is simply the return to live with the Goddess-Mother that bore them. Hence a very common form of epitaph represents the making of the grave as a vow or a dedication to the local deity. *Addend.* 24.

The tomb, then, is the temple, i. e. the home<sup>1</sup>, of the god, and he who gains admission, even by fraud or violence, to the tomb gets all the advantages which the rightful owner intended for himself.

The deification of the dead, whether generically under the name of Di Manes, *Θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι* (at Nakoleia), &c., or specifically as identified with some particular deity, is one of the most widespread facts of ancient religion. In the Roman world the conception of the dead as Di Manes gave rise to a standing formula of epitaphs: the formula appears on many thousands of tombstones, and had indeed become such a pure formula that its meaning was no longer present to the minds of the persons that composed the epitaph, and thus it is used occasionally even on Christian tombstones<sup>2</sup>. The identification of the dead with a particular deity is not so common; but examples occur in all ages. We shall find many epitaphs which show that the erection of a gravestone was conceived and expressed as a vow to some

<sup>1</sup> Compare the use of *oikos* in the sense of tomb at Cibyra BCH 1878 p. 610 f, Magnesia BCH 1894 p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Le Blant *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule* I p. 264, II p. 406; Wadd. nos. 2145, 2419.



deity who is named on the stone; and it is highly probable that many so-called votive inscriptions are really sepulchral. In this way the class of votive inscriptions to the god Sozon are explained Ch. VIII § 9, and those to Zeus Bronton in the neighbourhood of Nakoleia<sup>1</sup> are of the same character. The erection of a gravestone is also conceived as a distinction and prerogative (τιμή) of the dead man and living god; and the formula stating that the erector of the tomb did honour to (ἐτίμησεν) the dead person is widely used, especially on the southern side of the great plateau of Asia Minor. Such tombs were frequently erected by a city or corporate body, and the tombstone is then expressed in forms similar to those of an honorary inscription to a living person. A very clear example occurs in no. 85.

§ 9. THE GOD AS RULER AND HEALER. In studying the antiquities of the various cities and bishoprics of Phrygia, and in a less degree of other districts of Asia Minor, we shall find numberless traces which enable us to fill out in detail this brief sketch of the religion of Hierapolis and of the old social system to which it bears witness. Dionysopolis especially shows a type of religion that agrees in the names and probably in the minutest details with that of Hierapolis; and everything that we shall have to say of the former may, no doubt, be taken as applying to the latter. But Hierapolis was so much under Greek influence that the Phrygian ritual was more strictly esoteric and private there than in some other places. In particular, not a trace survives there of the old system of government on the village-system which struggled all over Asia Minor against the Greek city-system. The Anatolian village-system was almost a pure theocracy. The god of the central *hieron*, revealing his will through his priests and prophets, guided with absolute power the action of the population which dwelt in villages scattered over the country round the *hieron*. The chief priesthoods seem to have been originally hereditary in one family or in a small number of families; but no evidence remains as to the rules of succession. The highest priests and priestesses played the parts of the great gods in the mystic ritual, wore their dress, and bore their names; they, as a body, or perhaps the chief priest alone, controlled the prophetic utterances which guided the action of the community. Alongside of this theocratic government of the various districts, there was originally an imperial government of the whole country; but the nature of this central government is still a matter for investigation. Nothing positive can be stated about it at this stage, though its existence seems certain.

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<sup>1</sup> See an article on *Sepulchral Customs in Phrygia* in JHS 1884.



In the following chapter we shall study in more detail the traces of the old system of society which survived in more backward and remote parts of the country even under the Roman Empire. But at this point we may make some general remarks about the theocratic character of the Anatolian system.

Besides the land which was originally, apparently, the property (probably communal property) of the free population, there was also a considerable, or even a very large estate, actually the property of the god and called *χώρα ιερά*. The rents or crops of this land were enjoyed by the priest of the god<sup>1</sup>. It seems to have been generally let on hire; and analogy would lead us to suppose that the rent was in many cases a proportion of the produce. Besides this *Sacred Ground* there was a tract of land round the *hieron* which was inhabited specially by *hieroi* (Ch. IV § 12 (c)), worshippers, &c., and which seems to be originally the same as the *ιερά κώμη, ιερὸν χωρίον, περιπόλιον*. At Stratonicea those who inhabited the *peripolion* were distinguished from the inhabitants of the city. Narrower still than this was the Sacred Precinct (*περίβολος*), where, as a rule, probably the priest and the priestess alone lived<sup>2</sup>.

It is an interesting but difficult study to trace the change through which the Anatolian system passed in contact with the freer Greek civilization.

The population round the ancient Anatolian *hiera* consisted of both freemen and *hierodouloi*. The latter were serfs, attached to the soil, and under the rule of the priest except that he was not allowed to sell them<sup>3</sup>. What was the condition of the free population? It has sometimes been assumed that the priest-kings had always been the rulers of the free population also; but this seems to be an error. Strabo p. 672 seems perhaps to imply that the priests of Olba were dynasts only after the expulsion of the pirates by Pompey<sup>4</sup>; and he says that Pompey, when he made Archelaos priest of Comana Pontica, ordered the population of the country around to obey him, which seems to imply that previous priests had not possessed this authority over the free population<sup>5</sup>. The fact seems to be that an influence

<sup>1</sup> Strab. p. 535 *χώρα ιερά ἣν ὁ ἀεὶ ἱερεὺς καρποῦται*. Cp. Heller, quoted n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Strab. p. 575.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. p. 558 says of the priest of Comana Pontica (*ἦν*) *κύριος τῶν ἱεροδούλων πλὴν τοῦ πιπράσκειν*, cp. 535 *κύριός ἐστι καὶ τῶν ἱεροδούλων*.

<sup>4</sup> I hope to discuss the subject of Olba

more fully in a paper in the *Numismatic Chronicle* at an early date.

<sup>5</sup> Had it been recognized as part of the regular powers of the priesthood, there would have been no reason to state it, as Heller *de Lydiae Cariaequae Sacerdotibus* p. 219 rightly argues.



which was naturally exercised by the priest over the free population without any formal legal authority was converted by the Romans into an express and formal sovereignty, so that the priest was leader of the free population (Strab. pp. 535, 558) and master (*κύριος*, *dominus*) of the hierodouloi. Originally the influence of the priest accrued to him partly as interpreter of the will of the god to people who guided their action greatly by that will revealed in dreams or prophecies, partly in virtue of his superior knowledge and education among a simple and primitive population. Such informal influence, exercised *de facto* but not *de jure*, was not properly understood by the formal Romans, who wished to make explicit the constitution of these half-independent states and to have a central authority formally responsible to them<sup>1</sup>. The temple of Zeus Chrysaor near Stratonicea may be taken, perhaps, as a fairer specimen of the old native system: the Carians assembled there to sacrifice and to deliberate about the political situation<sup>2</sup>.

When the immense, yet informal, influence of the priest was thus regarded as a formal and express authority, it followed that, after the government passed out of his hands into those of the Roman state or the Emperor, the power and property which had belonged, according to the Roman view, to the priest passed to the new government<sup>3</sup>. It is an analogous fact that in many hellenized cities of the western coast-valleys, a magistrate called Stephanephoros succeeded to the political influence which had been exercised by the priest, while the latter seems to have been restricted to the strictly religious duties of his office, which were of course still great and important, Ch. II § 9. There is also great probability that the Greek kings acted in the same way as we suppose the emperors to have done<sup>4</sup>, making themselves the successors to the priests as owners of the land which belonged to

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<sup>1</sup> A similar change occurred in the Scottish Highlands, when the half-patriarchal and informal authority of some chiefs over the land and property of the clan was converted by lawyers and legislators into a formal ownership of the land.

<sup>2</sup> Allowance ought to be made for a certain amount of hellenization of Carian institutions; but this probably showed itself in affecting details and giving freedom to the states in practice and less weight to the priest rather than in altering the theory of

the common government.

<sup>3</sup> It is probable that there would be some difference in the treatment of such property according as it was taken under the republican or the imperial government. Evidence must be sought for bearing on this point; but, as a general rule, the Romans, when they took a province, found that the existing rulers were not the old priests, but more recent kings or governors.

<sup>4</sup> See Ch. I § 6, IV § 9, VIII § 4, 5 and IX § 3, 5.



the temples (χώρα ἱερὰ), and they in turn were succeeded by the Roman emperors. It is quite probable and natural that a distinct agreement was made in some or all cases with the priest of the temple, and certain privileges and property and rights were guaranteed him. It would be the easiest and most useful policy for the Greek kings to secure in this way the support and goodwill of the priests. All this was done at the expense of the uneducated native population; but we find in almost every case that the priesthood was in alliance with the monarchs and tyrants, and opposed to anything like the Greek-city system, which was likely to emancipate and educate the people.

Some signs remain that rents for lots of the temple-land were paid to a *hierotamias*, who sometimes at least represented the interests of the municipality. This seem to have been the case at Aizanoi<sup>1</sup>, where, as we may suppose, part of the temple-land had been left to the priests when the most of it was taken from them and converted into an estate which we find long afterwards owned by the emperors (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 177-8).

On all these points we must seek for evidence in each locality, as we investigate its antiquities. It is probable that details varied in different places; and we should avoid drawing universal conclusions from single cases.

An interesting side of this religion was its connexion with the healing art. The god was the Physician and the Saviour (Σωτήρ, Σώζων) of his people<sup>2</sup>. He punished their faults and transgressions by inflicting diseases on them; and, when they were penitent, he taught them how to treat and to cure their diseases<sup>3</sup>. Hence we found that a school of medicine grew up round the hieron of Men Karou (Ch. II § 7 c), and almost everywhere we find dedications to and worship of the god Asklepios. Such dedications to Greek gods occur in bewildering variety. The worshipper appeals to the god on that side of his manifold and all-powerful character which suits his special needs; and, as all educated persons used Greek, each designated the god by the Greek name which seemed to suit his special case, and express the reason that led him to seek for divine aid<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Wadd. 860.

<sup>2</sup> So, e.g., we find a deity, probably Men, represented carrying a staff wreathed with a serpent, not unlike the staff of Asklepios, or accompanied by a serpent. Sabazios is especially closely related to the serpent.

<sup>3</sup> As the lord of life, the god both gives it and takes it away: hence he

is both god of graves (§ 8) and of medicine, nos. 95, 194.

<sup>4</sup> The view taken by Roscher that these various deities were all distinct conceptions with a different meaning and origin (Men the moon, &c.) and that in later time they were confused and mixed up ('verschmelzung des Men mit Mithras, Attis, Sabazios, Asklepios,



It is remarkable that, though prophets and physicians formed part of every priestly establishment in Asia Minor, yet we have no proof that the prophets developed their religion in the way that the early prophets of Apollo developed the Greek religion, introducing moralized ideas and adapting the old religion to be the divine guide of a higher system of society. It is however clear that, if we have rightly described the character of their religion, they had given it a philosophic and highly elaborated system. But it lies far beyond the limits of the Hierapolitan *hieron* to enter on this wider subject. Only after collecting all the scattered evidence bearing on each centre of Anatolian religion can we face such a large question.

§ 10. TRADE-GUILDS. As to the municipal divisions of the city, whether into tribes, or otherwise, no distinct evidence exists. But in CIG 3924 the 'trade-guild of dyers' (ἐργασία τῶν βαφέων) is mentioned<sup>1</sup>, and in no. 26 the 'trade-guild of wool-washers.' In some cities of Asia Minor such trade-guilds are often mentioned, while tribes are never alluded to, e.g. Thyateira, Philadelpheia, Smyrna, Apameia, Akmonia<sup>2</sup>. It is probable that in these cities there was no division into tribes, but only into trade-guilds; at least, it seems highly probable that the division into tribes was an institution of the Greek period, and that the only pre-Greek classification of citizens was according to trades. In cities where both classifications occur, we may understand that a Greek foundation introduced the tribes, and the older stratum of population retained the guilds. As there is no evidence known of a Greek foundation in Hierapolis, we should

und Hekate') is one that I cannot sympathize with (see his paper ἵππος βροτόπους in *Berichte Verhandl. Leipzig* 1891 p. 96 f). I grant that different history, tribes, and places, had given a certain degree of individual character to Men and to Sabazios; but I believe that it was their fundamental similarity of character that led them to pass into one another as they do. Roscher may collect examples of Men; but for almost every attribute and type it would be easy to find an exact analogue in the case of Sabazios.

<sup>1</sup> Compare CIG 3912 a, Wadd. 741, where Papias son of Papias and grandson of Straton dedicates a statue of Herakles τῇ συνεργασίᾳ.

<sup>2</sup> Thyateira is best known: here

numerous ἔργα (a term apparently equivalent to the more usual ἐργασίαι), which are enumerated by M. Clerc *de rebus Thyat.* p. 92, ἀρτοκόποι, κεραμεῖς, χαλκεῖς, χαλκοτύποι, βυρσεῖς, σκυτοτόμοι, λανάριοι, λινουργοί, ἱματευόμενοι (makers of garments, see Ch. II § 4), βαφέις. But such guilds existed in cities where tribes are known (Laodiceia no. 8, Ephesos *συνεργασία λαναρίων* Wood *gr. th.* 4 οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐργάται προπυλεῖται CIG 3208); and it is quite possible that tribes may yet be found in the cities mentioned in the text. Menadier *Ephes.* p. 28 gives a list of the trade-guilds that are known. See also a paper on the *Street-porters of Smyrna* in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1885.



not expect to find tribes there; and no trace of tribes has as yet been discovered.

The trade-guilds were governed by presidents, called in Thyateira ἐπιστάται<sup>1</sup> and in Hierapolis ἐργατηγοί no. 26. The institution has survived in at least some cities of Asia Minor to modern times: the example best known to me is at Angora (Ancyra Gal.) where we could not hire muleteers except through the chief of the guild, who apportioned work to the various muleteers at his sovereign will and pleasure. M. Radet rightly suggests that these guilds date from the earliest historical period in the country, and finds a reference to them in the account given by Herodotus I 93 of the building of the tomb of Alyattes by the merchants, artisans, and courtesans: he considers their action as the result of a requisition laid by the sovereign on the guilds<sup>2</sup>. Under the Empire these guilds were, of course, so far romanized as to bring them within the category of *collegia legitima* (*Dig.* 47, 22), and were registered under the name of their president. It is a proof of the elasticity of Roman rule that their otherwise fixed principle prohibiting *collegia* was so completely relaxed in a country where the institution was of old standing.

The Dyers were no doubt numerous and rich at Hierapolis, where the waters were, as Strabo p. 629 says, exceedingly useful for dyeing. The water of the hot-springs seems to be rich in alum (judging from the taste), which is much used in the dyeing-process.

We cannot leave the subject without mentioning Flavius Zeuxis ἐργαστής who sailed round Malea<sup>3</sup> to Italy seventy-two times, and made a grave for himself and his sons Flavius Theodoros and Flavius

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιστησάμενον τοῦ ἔργου τῶν βαφέων ἀπὸ γένους CIG 3498: the last phrase implies only birth in a family which had supplied presidents previously, and not hereditary presidency (Ch. II § 7). In CIG 3912 a (note 1 p. 105) Papias was ἀρχώνης [ξ]υ[σ]τοῦ τὸ β', and evidently he was an officer of an ἐργασία. This title is obscure, and perhaps corrupt (one would look for ἀρχων [τ]ῆς . . . του). A Xystos was a covered colonnade, and ἀρχώνης was a farmer-general of a tax: and the two ideas do not go well together. It is possible that inser. 28 gives further information about these guilds, in case it is not Christian (as I think it is).

<sup>2</sup> M. Clerc *Thyatira* p. 90 has very

confidently asserted against M. Radet that the trade-guilds were a purely Roman institution. But the Roman government was exceedingly strict in enforcing the prohibition of such guilds (*Church in R. Emp.* pp. 215, 359); and, if they permitted guilds on such an extensive scale in Asia, this must in all probability have been due to their ancient standing, and the danger of tampering with a national habit. An example of the danger to peace and order that was inherent in such guilds occurs at Magnesia (*Church in R. Emp.* p. 200).

<sup>3</sup> Μαλέαν δὲ κάμψας ἐπιλαθοῦ τῶν οἴκαδε Strabo p. 378.



Theudas and for all to whom they give leave<sup>1</sup>. It is strange that a merchant resident in an inland city should have taken so many voyages.

§ 11. HISTORY. Hardly anything is known of the history of Hierapolis in the Greek and Roman periods. It grew by slow stages; and in the time of Strabo seems to have been far from great or important; but in the peace and prosperity of the empire its hot-springs must have made it a great resort for invalids and valetudinarians. Its coinage is rich and varied in type, and it must have been very important in the social as well as the religious point of view.

A series of coins struck under Augustus in the last decade B.C. shows the name of the city in a transition period, see p. 87. The reverse type of the following is a tripod, with the inscriptions

[Π]ΑΠΙΑΣ · ΑΠΕΛΛΙΔΟΥ · ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ  
ΛΥΓΚΕΥΣ · ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ · ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ  
ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ · ΔΙΦΙΛΟΥ · ΑΡΧΩΝ · ΤΟ · Β ·

On a coin of the proconsul Fabius Maximus (c. 5 B.C.), the type is a *bipennis* with the legend ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ · ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ · ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ · ΕΧΑΡΑΞ(εν)<sup>2</sup>.

The imposing triple gateway by which the road to Tripolis and Saidis issued from the city was dedicated perhaps to Commodus<sup>3</sup>.

The title *Neokoros* was conferred on Hierapolis probably about the end of the second or beginning of the third century (at latest under Caracalla); but the circumstances and the exact date are unknown<sup>4</sup>.

Of the state of society and education at Hierapolis hardly any evidence remains except what is stated about L. Septimius Antipater (p. 45). In an inscription of the British Museum, DXLVIII, T. Claudius P. Callixenus of Hierapolis is mentioned as a pupil of the sophist Soteris at Ephesos<sup>5</sup>. Epictetus was a native of Hierapolis; but probably did not owe much to the education of his native city.

<sup>1</sup> The names of the sons have a Christian appearance, and the unusual freedom in granting the use of the tomb seems unlike Pagan feeling, and very like Christian freedom and usage in regard to common sepulture. Compare inscr. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Zosimus evidently paid the expense of these coins, as Apollodotus did at Lounda (no. 86). Mr. Head compares at Tripolis Θεόδωρος β' ἐχάρα(ξε), and at

Ephesos ὁ νεω(κόρος) Ἐφε(σίων) δη(μος) ἐπεχάρ(αξε), *Catalogue of Coins of Ionia* p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> CIL III 7059. Caracalla or Severus are not absolutely excluded: the fragment belongs to one of the three.

<sup>4</sup> Coins of Caracalla and of Julia Domna have the title, p. 59 n.

<sup>5</sup> Soteris of Ephesos is mentioned by Philostratos *Vit. Soph.* II 23 as a very inferior sophist.



The following festivals or games are known at Hierapolis :

AKTIA quoted by Eckhel from an autonomous coin.

AK(TIA) · Π(YΘI)A, Annia Faustina, Mionnet III 306<sup>1</sup>.

AKTIA and ΠYΘIA each on an urn (type Demos) Br. Mus.

ΠYΘIA Gallienus Imhoof MG p. 403 ; Elagabalus Eckhel<sup>1</sup>.

ΛHTΩEIA · ΠYΘIA in a crown (type Demos) Br. Mus.

ΛHTΩEIA · ΠYΘIA CIG 3910.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ · ΠYΘIA CIG 3428 (Hadrianeia mentioned).

The *Actia* were of course founded in honour of the victory of Actium. That event seems to have been hailed with joy in Lydia, several of whose cities took it as an era to reckon from<sup>2</sup>. These games therefore attest the Lydian connexion of Hierapolis. Tripolis must apparently have been favoured by Antonius, and his popularity seems to have been great in the Cibyratic *conventus* and along the Maeander, to judge from the frequency of the name afterwards. The *Actia Pythia*, if the name be a real one, must be identified with the *Actia*<sup>1</sup>.

The *Pythia*, *Letoia-Pythia*, *Apollonia-Pythia*, and *Letoia*, must probably be taken as four different names for the great festival of the city-cultus.

Mr. Head mentions games Chrysanthina at Hierapolis ; but I find no certain proof of this. Alliance coins of Hierapolis and Sardis show the games Pythia (representing the former) and Chrysanthina (representing the latter); and Sardian coins boast of the Chrysanthina. The name is probably derived, as Mr. Head suggests, from the use of the corn-marigold (*χρυσάνθος*) in the victor's wreath. The flower, in that case, must have been sacred to Cybele ; and the games were held in her honour. It would be quite natural that the same custom and the same name should exist at Hierapolis as at Sardis ; but the coins in the British Museum that bear the names of both festivals are all alliance coins.

It was probably the old-standing religious importance of Hierapolis that led Justinian, some time before A.D. 553 (perhaps in 535), to make it a metropolis for ecclesiastical purposes, if not also for civil purposes. A district of Phrygia, Pacatiana, was separated from the rest of the province and placed under it<sup>3</sup>. This new district may be

<sup>1</sup> The coin is said to read AK·ΠIA : ought we not to read AKTIA and eliminate the games *Actia Pythia* ? In CIG 3910 *Actia* and *Letoia-Pythia* are distinguished.

<sup>2</sup> Palaiapolis, Philadelphieia, and

Tralla, Ch. V App. IV.

<sup>3</sup> At the Council of 680 Sisinnios of Hierapolis, signed ὑπὲρ ἐμαντοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑπ' ἐμὲ συνόδου ; and the division is doubtless older than the Council of 553, where Hierapolis ranks as a metropolis.



termed *Phrygia Hierapolitana*. The lists vary as to its extent; some assign to it a district on the south-west frontier of Pacatiana, containing Attouda, Mossyna, Dionysopolis, Anastasiopolis, and Metellopolis; while others add a second district in the north-west, including Ankyra, Synaos, Tiberiopolis, Aizanoi and Kadoi. It is certain that at the second council of Nikaia, A.D. 787, both districts were under Hierapolis; while it is equally certain that at the Quinisextan Council in 692 the north-western district was under Laodiceia and only the south-western under Hierapolis. It is therefore clear that between 692 and 787 A.D. a district including five cities in the north-west of Pacatiana was taken from Laodiceia and assigned to Hierapolis<sup>1</sup>. This change may be assigned to one of the early iconoclast emperors, when re-organizing the empire, after the disorder of the seventh century; but the new arrangement had only ecclesiastical, not political, significance, for the themes had already come into existence, and the provinces had no political meaning. A table showing the list of bishoprics subject to Hierapolis in the Councils and *Notitiae* is annexed as App. III.

§ 12. MAGISTRATES AND MUNICIPAL INSTITUTIONS. The Greek political institutions seem not to have taken deep root in Hierapolis. The inscriptions mention the Senate, but only as a receiver of sepulchral fines; they mention the Record-office as containing copies of sepulchral inscriptions; they mention the Gerousia as guardian of graves; and they mention an annual gymnasiarch, and an agoranomos. On the coins, which are a thoroughly political institution, we find Senate, *Demos*, *Gerousia*, Archons, *Strategoi*, *Grammateus*, and *Prytanis*<sup>2</sup>; also Euposia and Eubosia, the former an impersonation of the public banquets, and the latter of the fertility of the soil (as in CIG 3906), both being forms of the mother-goddess of the city in her civic aspect<sup>3</sup>.

In one case we find a date by a magistrate *Stephanephoros*<sup>4</sup>. On the analogy of Iasos and other cases (Ch. II § 9), we understand him

<sup>1</sup> Incidentally we have a proof that the lists of bishoprics were not always corrected up to date. *Notitia I* of Parthey (more correctly given by Gelzer, *Georg. Cypr.*, who dates it about 820-840) does not give this new arrangement of Phrygia, though it gives the re-arranged district Amoriana, which was cut out of Phrygia and Galatia about 820-829 (it is *Not. Basilii* p. 121).

<sup>2</sup> The *Epimeletes*, Claudius Pollio

Asiarch, belongs to Hieropolis in Phrygia Salutaris.

<sup>3</sup> M. Imhoof-Blumer (MG p. 402) considers the two forms to be mere variants in spelling, but they are distinct terms. At Smyrna the public banquets were directed by a Euposiarch (CIG 3385), Eubosia was a goddess at Akmonia.

<sup>4</sup> CIG 3912a ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Σέξτου τὸ γ'.



to be the civic representative of the supreme power which had once belonged to the chief-priest of Leto and Lairbenos, wearing the garland which marked him as holding the place of the god. Just as the old title βασιλεύς often persisted in Greek cities as a municipal office after the ancient kingly power had fallen into disuse, so apparently the *Stephanephoros* continued as an official of many cities after the old priestly authority had been destroyed. See pp. 56, 103.

§ 13. GEROUSIA<sup>1</sup>. The only municipal institution about which we learn anything from the inscriptions of Hierapolis is the *Gerousia*. The *Gerousiai* of the Asian cities under the Empire were bodies of great importance; but their character is rather obscure. It is, on the one hand, clear that the *Gerousia* was broadly distinguished in its nature from the Senate. The Senate was the politically administrative council of the city: the *Gerousia* was not a council for administering the municipal government. On the other hand the *Gerousia* was more than a mere club for the older citizens; it had various powers, and performed various duties which gave it considerable influence, and the Senate, the *Demos*, and the *Gerousia* often united in the preamble to honorary decrees<sup>2</sup>. It is not certain that its character was the same in all Asian cities; probably it varied a little, though without any serious difference. The *Gerousia* and the *Neoi* are so often associated together that there must have been a certain correspondence in character and purpose between them. The *Neoi*, again, are undoubtedly closely connected with the *Epheboi*, though neither

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<sup>1</sup> Opinion among scholars differs widely about the character of the *Gerousia*. Menadier, Hicks, Hogarth, Th. Reinach, consider that it was a political body, whereas Mommsen and Waddington hold that under the Empire it was merely an old men's club for social purposes (the latter view seems to me to be nearer the truth, allowing for the natural influence in the city acquired by a body containing all the most experienced and the richest citizens): Reinach holds that the *Presbyteroi* and the *Gerousia* were different bodies, Hicks and Menadier that they were the same: Reinach holds that the *Presbyteroi* of Iasos were indubitably a mere social union, Hicks p. 77 considers that the powers and duties of the *Presbyteroi* at Ephesos prove them (i.e. the *Gerousia*)

to have been a political body: Reinach holds that the *Presbyteroi* at Magnesia were not the *Gerousia*, Cousin and Deschamps say that they were obviously the same, BCH 1888 p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> But no stress can be laid on this juxtaposition of the three bodies as an argument that all were political in character; for we find occasionally the Senate, *Demos*, *Gerousia*, and *Neoi* united in such honorary decrees (BCH 1885 p. 74); and the *Neoi* were merely the grown men of the city meeting for exercise and pleasure as a club in a gymnasium. Such an expression as the title at Miletos γυμνασιάρχιστα της γερουσίας καὶ τῶν νέων (*Ath. Mitth.* 1893 p. 268) seems a clear proof that the *Gerousia* at Miletus was a social club like the *Neoi*.



of these bodies came near the *Gerousia* in importance<sup>1</sup>. What, then, were these three bodies?

The *Epheboi* were young men who were associated together according to certain rules, under teachers in classes<sup>2</sup>, for purposes of physical and moral training. Where the *Epheboi* award honours or pass decrees, no more can be meant than would be implied in a compliment paid by a whole college class to a benefactor or teacher. But the education of the citizen was not considered complete when he passed out of the *Epheboi* (about the age of 20), and moreover, by association in clubs, various pleasures and advantages could be gained which individuals could not get for themselves. This led to the organization, general in Asian cities, of the men over twenty in associations called *Neoi*. These associations were closely connected with the *Gymnasia*; and the Gymnasiarch, who regulated the public training of the *Epheboi*, was also closely connected with the *Neoi*<sup>3</sup>.

The *Neoi* formed in each city a corporate body; they possessed funds managed by their own officials (probably under the oversight of the Gymnasiarch or the *Nomothetes*); they erected statues, had sometimes a gymnasium appropriated to their own use, passed decrees, &c. It is uncertain whether any of the members contributed individually to the funds; probably bequests, benefactions, and municipal aid kept them up without much contribution, especially in great cities. They even parodied the government of the city by having a Senate and Demos of their own<sup>4</sup>; but these assemblies are more frequently mentioned among the *Epheboi*, in which case obviously they could not be much more than our Parliamentary Debating Societies.

The *Gerousia* was developed, probably, out of the association of older men for mutual advantage; but naturally their needs and wishes differed from those of *Neoi*. Being composed of older men the *Gerousia* had necessarily from the first much greater weight,

<sup>1</sup> The *Gerousia* is far more widely spread and more frequently mentioned than the body of *Neoi*, and the latter than the *Epheboi*. The latter occur only where the Greek organization has taken deep root.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐφηβοὶ νεώτεροι, μέσοι, and πρεσβύτεροι at Chios (CIG 2214).

<sup>3</sup> The *παῖδες* also assembled in a Gymnasium, where they were grouped in classes and instructed; and where they were under the general surveillance, in Iasos at least, of a magistrate termed

παιδονόμος. Probably Iasos may be taken as a fair specimen of the educational arrangements of an Asian Greek city: there were in it four *Gymnasia* (three for ἔφηβοι, νέοι, and πρεσβύτεροι, each under a gymnasiarch). Ephebarch was a mere honorary title (like *princeps iuventutis*), not an office. *Neoi* and *presbyteroi* at Iasos were also directed by committees of διοικηταί. See M. Th. Reinach in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 161 f.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., at Pergamos, where they had a gymnasium: *Hermes* 1873 pp. 42, 45.



arising from the superior influence and wealth of individual members. A resolution of the *Gerousia* had some analogy to a *senatus auctoritas*, a decree vetoed by a tribune and therefore devoid of legal force, yet having the weight naturally attaching to the mere opinion of a body so influential and respected. Numerous inscriptions attest that it was entrusted with the disposal of large sums of money, sometimes presented or bequeathed for definite purposes, or on condition that the *Gerousia* arranged for the performance of certain duties. Especially the *Gerousia* was trusted in many cases with the charge of tombs and of solemnities at regular intervals performed beside them. Penalties for the violation of the tomb were often made payable to the *Gerousia*, to give it a motive for attending to the matter; and often a bequest (στεφανωτικόν) was made to it, the interest of which was payable annually to those members who placed garlands on the grave of the testator. Naturally, the Elders were the body which was thought most likely to interest itself in such matters as the guardianship and preservation of tombs.

The inscriptions show what importance was attached in Asia Minor to the care of tombs, and the *Gerousia*, as the body most trusted in these cases, became very wealthy corporations. The charge of such large revenues was a serious matter, and besides a *ταμίας* (appointed by the members) there was often a *λογιστής*, or public auditor and controller of their accounts. Considering what care the Imperial government bestowed on the finances of the cities we are not surprised to find Hadrian appointing a *logistes* for the Ephesian *Gerousia* (CIG 2987 b, BM CCCCLXXXVI). The money owned by the *Gerousia*, of course, was lent out at interest. This is specified as the intention of many bequests; and the vouchers for money lent (by the *Gerousia*) are mentioned at Ephesus (BM CCCCLXXXI 206, cp. CCCCLXXXVI).

The *Gerousia* had, as a rule, some building as their centre, a clubhouse and meeting-house combined. In Sardis the palace of Croesus was appropriated to the use of the Elders, and in Thyatira a basilica in the forum of Hadrian<sup>1</sup>; in Nikomedeia the building was termed *Gerousia* (Plin. *ad Traj.* 33); in Sidyma and in many other places it was a gymnasium; at Teos it was a stoa; at Nysa it was called *Gerontikon*.

The συνέδριον τῆς γερουσίας was not a committee or council of the

<sup>1</sup> *Croesi domus quam Sardiani civibus ad requiescendum aetatis otio seniorum collegio Gerusiam dedicaverunt* Vitruv. II 8, 10. οἶκου βασιλικοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἀδρια-

νείῳ, οἰκοβασιλικοῦ τοῦ τῆς γερουσίας Clerc *de rebus Thyatirenorum* p. 20, CIG 3491, BCH 1887 p. 100.



Elders, but denoted the entire body. Other equivalent terms are *σύστημα*, *συνέδριον τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*<sup>1</sup>, or *συνέδριον* simply. As to officials, besides *ταμίας* and *λογιστής*, we find *προστάτης*, *γραμματεὺς*. The Gymnasiarch was, at Hierapolis, the controller of the funds of the Gerousia.

So far the Gerousia might seem to be only a club of the older citizens; but the following facts point to the existence of restrictions on the number and to conditions of admission. The rank of Senator and Elder is often mentioned, evidently with the implication that each title denoted a grade of honour. When a Gerousia was formed at Sidyma about the end of the second century, there were exactly one hundred members in it. At Sillyon, in the third century, a certain Menodora distributed to each senator eighty-six denarii, to each elder eighty, to each demotes seventy-seven, to each ordinary citizen nine, and each freedman three. This proves that the Senate, Gerousia, and Demos were assemblies limited in number, and shows the comparative rank of each. The large revenues of the Gerousia alone would suffice to raise it above the rank of a mere club, and make it a great and influential institution.

At Hierapolis the *Gerousia* seems to have been arranged in groups or classes, and a list of the members in each class was given in a separate tablet (*Pyxion*). There were at least eight such classes. Bequests were sometimes left, not to the whole Gerousia, but to the particular *pyxion* in which the testator might be. In inscr. 20 the deceased, Apollonios, had left to the eighth *pyxion* three hundred denarii; in other two cases the testator, while still living, bequeaths three hundred denarii to whatever class he may be in at his death. The person who was living did not know in what class he would be at the time of his death<sup>2</sup>; therefore there must have been some rule,

<sup>1</sup> M. Th. Reinach distinguishes between the *πρεσβύτεροι* and the Gerousia, *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 162; but I cannot believe he is right. MM. Cousin and Deschamps rightly remark BCH 1888 p. 211 that the *σύστημα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων* at Magnesia Mae. is proved by their inscription to be the same as the Gerousia. The *πρεσβύτεροι* at Ephesos were certainly the Gerousia, see Hicks 77, Menadier 57. Reinach rightly says that the *πρεσβύτεροι* at Iasos are clearly proved by the inscriptions to be a mere association of elderly citizens without any political character; but he is not right

in inferring that they were different from the *Gerousia*. So far as I can gather, his sole argument for distinguishing the two bodies is that the *Presbyteroi* were social, the *Gerousia* political. But when we find that the *Gerousia* is fundamentally social, the argument loses all weight. *Add.* 35.

<sup>2</sup> *πυξίῳ ὅπου ἂν ἐνκαταληφθῶ* or *ἐν ᾧ ἂν καταληφθῶ* (CIG 3912, 3919, Wadd. 1680, 1681). The idea that these bequests are made by persons who were not yet Elders, but expected to become so in due course, need not be considered.



whether seniority or otherwise, whereby the Elders passed on from class to class. The members of the *Gerousia*, then, were not arranged according to tribes, as we saw that the members of the Laodicean senate were during the first century at least ; but some other system of classification prevailed.



## APPENDIX I.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF HIERAPOLIS.

17. (R. 1883). Φλαβιανὸς ὁ καὶ Μονογονις εὐχαριστῶ τῇ θεῷ. Probably we should read Μονογένης or Μηνογένης.

18. (R. 1881). Found at Tralleis in Lydia: published *Mous. Sm.* no. μθ', with some slight differences. Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. Λ. Αὐρηλία [Α]ἰ[μ]ιλία<sup>1</sup> ἐκ προγόνων παλλακίδων καὶ ἀνιπτοπόδων, θυγάτηρ Λ. Αὐρ. Σεκούνδου Ση[ί]ου, παλλακεύσασα καὶ κατὰ χρησμόν · Διῖ. I insert this, though not a Hierapolitan inscription. The name Σηίου is very doubtful. *Addenda.*

19. (R. 1887). Hogarth in *Journ. Philol.* 1888 vol. XIX p. 77 f, no. 2. ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ βωμὸς Ἰουλίου Μακεδονικοῦ ἐν ᾗ (ἐ)κηδεύθη ὁ Μακεδονικὸς καὶ ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ Ἀρ[μ.]<sup>2</sup> Ἰουλία · καὶ μηδ[ενὶ] ἐτέρῳ ἐξὸν κηδευσθῆναι · ἂν οὐ, ἀποτείσει τῷ φίσκῳ (δηνάρια) φ · [ἔδ]οσαν δὲ οἱ Μακεδονικο[ῦ] τοῖς Σημιαφόροις τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου Ἀπόλλωνος στεφανωτικὸν μῆ(νὸς) ι'<sup>3</sup> (δηνάρια) ζσθ' καὶ [μῆ(νὸς)] α', γ', (δηνάρια) ζσθ'.

I give the reading suggested by my friend W. R. Paton: Hogarth has φ', ἡ ὅσ' ἂν δέοι. After the death of Macedonicus his sons gave to the Semeiaphoroi of Apollo (probably because their father had been one of them) two sums of 7208 den., to recompense them for laying garlands on the grave on two days in each year, i.e. on the anniversaries of the death of Macedonicus and his wife. The Semeiaphoroi of Apollo occur only here. They might be taken as workers of wonders, a class of persons corresponding to the modern dervishes, who gashed themselves with knives and did other strange things in a state of ecstasy—a natural accompaniment of the mysteries and the enthusiastic ceremonial of the Phrygian religion. But I prefer to interpret them as 'bearers of the sign,' a society with a secret signal, like the Xenoi Tekmoreioi (see Ch. III § 7).

<sup>1</sup> Not Αἰμιλία (tribe).

of Hierapolis).

<sup>2</sup> With this doubtful restoration, compare Arm. Elpine in Wadd. 1688 (also

<sup>3</sup> The day of the month seems to be omitted by a fault of the engraver.



20. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 1). [Ἐνθάδε Ἀπολ]λώνιος β' Εὐτυχοῦς Μολυβᾶ ἐνκεκήδευται αὐτός · κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ [τὰ τέκνα αὐ]τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος · ἄλλω δὲ ἐξέσται οὐδενί · ἡακότος [δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολ]λωνίου τῷ ὀγδόῳ πυξίῳ τῆς γερουσίας (δην.) τ[ρ]ιακόσια<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸ δίδοσθαι [ἀπὸ τ]οῦ τόκου αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι καὶ στεφανώσασιν τὸ γεινόμενον ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν μηνὸς ἡ', κ' · ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν κα[τ'] ἔτ[ος]οις γυμνασιαρχῶν τὸ στεφανωτικὸν μὴ διανείμ[η], ἔ]σται ὑπεύθυνος τῷ Ἀπόλωνι (δην. ·) καθὼς ἡ ἀποχὴ περιέχει ἡ διὰ τῶν ἀρχείων δοθεῖσα · προνοήσουσιν δέ μοι τὰ τέκνα Ἀπολλωνίς καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος τῆς πατρικῆς σοροῦ τῆς ὀπίσω κειμένης · ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.

Apollonios had died on the twentieth day of the eighth month; and those Elders of his class who annually came on that day to lay a garland on his tomb<sup>2</sup> are to divide the interest accruing from his benefaction (which at nine per cent. would be 27 den.). The gymnasiarch of the year is to distribute the gift, and if any gymnasiarch fails to do so, he must pay as a fine to Apollo the sum prescribed in the Apocha (receipt) passed through the record-office. Until their death, the two children are to be guardians of their father's sarcophagus, which is the one furthest back.

21. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 9). ἡ σορὸς Νικομήδους Ἀπολλωνίου Μοταλίδος, ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτός · ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδευθῆναι · εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ κηδεύσας ἕτερον δώσ[ει τῷ φίσκ]ῳ δην. [. ·] . τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη εἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα. The name Motalis (probably connected with Motalla or Motella) is the feminine of a Cilician name Moteles, which, as Sachau has shown, is the grecized form of Mutallu, the name of an old Hittite king; see Ch. IV § 13. Apollonios is designated by his mother's name, see § 6, and compare Εὐτύχης πατρὸς ἀδήλου, a member of gerousia, and Neiketes, son of Parthena, a member of senate and gerousia at Sidyma (Benndorf *Lykia* I p. 74), Sterrett E. J. no. 21, Headlam JHS 1892 p. 29 f, and below, no. 92. Menodoros son of Euphemia, *strategos* at Attaleia of Lydia, is another excellent example, see BCH 1887 p. 401 (where I cannot agree with M. Radet's interpretation, which he himself says *est embarrassant*)<sup>3</sup>. See p. 129. For the genitive form Νικομήδους compare Κόδρου Hogarth 4.

22. (R. 1884). Published already in CIG 3906. In large letters in

<sup>1</sup> The error of the engraver has put τριακόσια on the stone.

<sup>2</sup> Compare στεφανοῖσιν οἱ συγγενεές Πλευρεῖδαι in an epitaph of Myrina (*Ath. Mitth.* 1889 p. 89).

<sup>3</sup> The well-known Coan list, found in a long-grecized island, perhaps opens up

questions different from those which concern us. Mr. Paton, p. 256, differs from Rayet, who saw in it proof of matriarchal institutions in Cos: Toepffer, *Att. Geneal.* p. 193, agrees with Rayet. The question must remain an open one.



the auditorium of the theatre. εἴλεως ὑμῶν ὁ Ἀρχηγέτης<sup>1</sup>. Compare εἴλεός(!) μοι ὁ θεός in Thrace *A. Ep. Mitth.* 1894 p. 99; see BCH 1883 p. 322.

23. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 21). A. ἡ σορὸ[s Λουκίου?] Σερβηνίου (Λουκίου?) υἱοῦ Π(α)λατίνου Τερτίου [καὶ] τέκνων αὐτοῦ · συνχωρῶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ [. . . .] τεθῆναι · κ.τ.λ.

B. ἡ σορὸς Ἀχολίου Ἀμμειανοῦ Μολυβᾶ ἐκ προγονεϊκῆς διαδοχῆς. The father's name has been omitted by the engraver: errors in writing the unfamiliar Latin arrangement of personal names are common in Greek inscriptions.

The tomb, which was used for [L.] Servenius Tertius, probably in the early second century, was appropriated by Acholios, son of Ammianos, son of Molybas, in the fourth or fifth century, who declares that he has it by hereditary succession. The assertion has all the appearance of being false, designed to cover the appropriation. Such appropriation of former tombs was often made in Christian times, and the process was called ἀνανέωσις, ἀνανεοῦσθαι. With Molybas cp. Molyx p. 310.

L. Servenius Tertius seems to have derived his name from a well-known and influential family (see *Akmonia*), one member of which was *legatus pro praetore* of the proconsul Aponius Saturninus 75–90 A.D.

24. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 13). A. ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Αὐρηλίου Μάγνου [οὐετ]ερανοῦ λεγιῶνος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης [Γεμίνης· ἐν ᾗ] κηδευθήσεται ὁ Μάγνος καὶ ἡ σύνβιος αὐτοῦ Ἰλάρα.

B. ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος διαφέρει Μάρκου Αὐρ[ηλίου] Ἡσυχίου δις ἐκ παραχωρήσεως Ἀτταδιανοῦ Παπίου.

This seems to be a case of double ownership and burial. There is no apparent connexion between the two inscriptions. The twelfth legion was stationed in Pannonia from A.D. 92 onwards, as late as the fifth century. Magnos seems to be of late third or fourth century; and to be later than Hesychios. Another soldier, Hogarth no. 4; a third, C. Seius Atticus optio leg. VI CIG 3932.

25. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 8). ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος Αὐρηλίας Μαρκίας Ἀττάλου · ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται Αὐρήλιος Καρποφόρος Πασστίλλας καὶ Αὐρηλία Μαρκία ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καρποφόρου, καθὼς προγέγραπται, καὶ τὰ παιδιά τῆς Μαρκίας · ἐὰν δ' ἕτερός<sup>2</sup> τις κηδευθῇ, δώσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ

<sup>1</sup> BCH 1886 p. 453 does not belong to Hierapolis. Ibid. p. 519 no. 16 belongs to Hierapolis; and its attribution to Tralleis is quite erroneous. M. Kontoleon, who publishes it, has in this and

in several other cases been deceived by careless collectors of texts.

<sup>2</sup> ἕτερόν τις κηδεύσῃ would be more logical.



δην. φ'. The tomb belongs to the wife, who provides that children by a second wife shall not be admitted. The husband's names are remarkable. Karpophoros is an epithet of Demeter; and names from that cultus were therefore used in the family, so that we may explain Passtillas on the same principle. It is probably a diminutive form from Pastophoros, bearer of the *pastos* or *pastas*. The *pastos* played an important part in the mystic ceremonial (Clement Alex. *protrept.* 2; Schol. on Plato p. 123, ed. Ruhnken; Arnobius *adv. Gentes* V 20, quoted by F. Lenormant in *Contemp. Review* 1880 II p. 146); and παστοφόροι bore small *pastoi* in processions<sup>1</sup>.

26. Published *Mous. Sm.* no. vπθ'. The text is unsatisfactory. ἡ σεμνοτάτη ἐργασία τῶν ἐριοπλυτῶν Τιβ. Κλ. Ζωτικὸ[ν] Βοατον(?) πρῶτον ἐργατηγὸ[ν] καὶ φιλότειμον καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ γραματέα ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ πρεσβευτὴν ἔνδοξον καὶ ἀρχιερέα, εὐεργέτην τῆς πατρίδος. προνοησάντων τῆς ἀναστάσεως τῶν περὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Απολλώνιον δις Πυλῶνα κτλ.

27. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 25). ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ τόπος καθ' ὃν κείται καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος καθὼς ὁ πηχισμὸς διὰ τῆς κτήσεως δηλο[ῦ]ται, Ἀμμιανοῦ Διοκλέους τοῦ Μενάνδρου μυροπώλου ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Προφήτιλλα Ζωσίμου. τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς ταύτης ἀντίγραφον ἀπόκειται ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις. The plot round the grave was measured and fully described in the record of the purchase. The name Prophetilla is perhaps Christian, and if so it was bestowed on this woman during the time when women-prophets were a feature of the Christianity of Anatolia, i. e. in the Catholic Church before the latter part of the second century, and in the Montanist Church even after that time. There is nothing to mark this inscription as later than 200; but it is unlikely to be much earlier. The name Prophetilla occurs only here; it is formed on Latin analogy, cp. Falconilla, Septimilla, &c.

28. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 26, p. 98). Α. ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ περὶ αὐτὴν τόπος σὺν τῷ ὑποκίμένῳ βαθρικῷ Μαρ. Αὐ. Διοδώρου Κοριάσκου ἐπὶ κλην Ἀσβόλου ν(εωτέρου?) · ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ κὲ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ · περιών τε κηδεύσω ὃν ἂν βουληθῶ · ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδευθῆναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀποτείσι προστείμου τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ δην. φ', καὶ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ γερουσίᾳ δην. φ' · ὅσον ἂν πορίσῃς βίον, ᾧ φίλε παροδείτα, εἰδὼς ὅτι τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν τοῦ βίου ταῦτα.

<sup>1</sup> Meister's statement (reported in *Class. Rev.* 1893 p. 317; *Berl. Philol. Woch.* Dec. 24, 1892) that *pastoi* in Greek temples were only used in connexion

with shrines for the worship of Egyptian deities is not true of the temples at Eleusis and in Phrygia.



B. κατέλειψα δὲ καὶ τῷ συνεδρίῳ τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυραβάφων δην. γις ἀποκαυσμὸν τῶν ΠΑΠΩΝ τῇ ἐθίμῳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ τοῦ τόκου αὐτῶν · εἰ δέ τις ἀμελήσει αὐτῶν τὸ μὴ ἀποκαῦσαι, γενέσθαι τὸ καταλελειμένον τῆς ἐργασίας τῆς θρεμματικῆς · κηδευθήσεται δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνή.

This remarkable inscription has been published by M. Waddington, no. 1687, with differences<sup>1</sup>. The language is in many points so unusual, that like M. Waddington I have been led to interpret it as Christian (see *Expositor* Dec. 1888 p. 414 f), understanding that the aim in inscriptions of this class was to keep up an appearance of legality. The Christians were, as I think, the dominant class in most Phrygian cities after A.D. 200; they registered themselves as *collegia tenuiorum* (Dig. 47, 22), and accommodated themselves in all permissible ways to the Roman law. Ideas and objects which were strictly Christian were indicated by terms of ordinary pagan use or by terms unknown and unintelligible to the vulgar, so that the document, read cursorily, should be like an ordinary epitaph-testament, though the more careful reader finds subtle differences. Pagan inscriptions require celebrations at the tomb on the anniversary of the day of death, but here the day is ἡ ἔθιμος ἡμέρα, i. e. some definite and customary day, which was familiar to those who understood the meaning of ΠΑΠΩΝ. Burning of objects, moreover, is not known to have formed part of the pagan sepulchral ritual. The language is here adapted to resemble pagan usage and formulas; but when scrutinized it is seen to be quite different in character.

If I be wrong in taking this text as Christian, it remains very important. The ἐργασία θρεμματική must be an organization for looking after foundlings (θρέμματα, θρεπτοί), and it is difficult to reconcile such an institution with paganism except as influenced by Christianity. The 'council of proedroi of the Porphyrabaphoi (or -pheis)' would, in a pagan inscription, prove that a trade-guild was directed not simply by an *epistates* (§ 11), but also by a council of *proedroi*<sup>2</sup>. But years of further experience only deepen my sense of the inconsistency between this text and the pagan inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> He gives the name as Κορήσκου and Ἀσβέ[στ]ηρ (*sic*, not in gen.). I have not perfect confidence in the reading Ἀσβόλου N, but the rest is I think certain. My chief object in visiting Hierapolis in 1887 was to recopy this inscription; and I worked long and carefully at it (aided by Hogarth's eye on some details of difficulty).

<sup>2</sup> I believe that the Porphyrabaphoi are the Christian Church, directed by the council of *presbyteroi* under presidency of the *episkopos*; and that the θρεμματικὴ ἐργασία is the charitable fund connected with the church. The money, if not applied entirely to purpose of ceremonial, is to be used for charity.



## APPENDIX II.

## BISHOPS OF HIERAPOLIS.

Le Quien mixes up Hieropolis of Salutaris with this Hierapolis; and gives the bishops in a single list in Phrygia Salutaris.

1. Heros, appointed by St. Philip.
2. Papias.
3. Claudius Apollinaris.
4. Flaccus *Conc. Nicaen.* 325 *convent. Philippop.* 344.
5. Lucius is said to have been present at the council held in Constantinople in reference to Agapius and Bagadius, the rival claimants of the bishopric of Bostra, Leunclav. *Jus Graeco-Rom.* IV p. 247 (Le Quien).
6. Abeneatios, Beneatios, Beneagas, Bennantius, 431. Paul the presbyter was present at the Council of Ephesos on his behalf.
7. Stephanus *Concil. Ephes.* II 449. 7 A. Tatianus. *Addenda.*
8. Philippus 458.
9. Auxanon 553.
10. Sisinnios 680.
11. Ignatius 869, 879. I purchased in 1883 a seal with the legend ΙΓΝΑΤΙΩ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙ ΙΕΡΑΠ, which I gave as a marriage-gift to my friend Rev. S. S. Lewis of Cambridge. The custodian reports that it cannot now be found in his collection, which is the property of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
12. Nicon transferred to Nicaea by Photius (*Niceph. Callist.* XIV 38).
13. Arseber 997, *Jus Graeco-Rom.* p. 203 (Le Quien).
14. Constantine, metropolitan of Hierapolis, purchased the Paris A Manuscript of Plato. Prof. L. Campbell, my informant, would date him about 1000. See p. 14.
15. Georgius, metropolitan of Hierapolis, was present in 1166 at the second council held under the Patriarch Lucas Chrysoberga; and metropolitan bishops of Hierapolis were present at councils held in 1066, 1143 and 1186. In all these cases it may be taken as certain that the Phrygian city and not the Syrian (metropolis of Euphratesia Commagene) is meant; though Le Quien is doubtful.
16. Philippus? See Schlumberger *Sigillographie* p. 255. *Addenda.*



APPENDIX III.

CITIES OF PHRYGIA HIERAPOLITANA (instituted c. 536, enlarged c. 740, see p. 109).

	COUNCILS 553, 680, 692.	Not. VII. c. 700 A.D.	Revised editions of the list given in Not. VII.			Not. DE BOOR c. 750-800.	COUNCIL 787.	Not. LEONIS c. 900.	Not. III. c. 1100. Not. X. c. 1200.
			Not. IX.	Not. VIII.	Not. BASILII.				
1. Hierapolis	Auxanon, 553 Sisinnios, 680	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1
2. Metellopolis	—	2	2	2	2	3	Eudoxios presb. et vices agens.	2	2
3. Dionysopolis	Alexander, 553	3	3	—	3	4	Basilios	—	—
4. Anastasiopolis	Stephanus, 536 Hieron, 553	—	—	3	4	5	—	5 Phoba	5 Phoba
5. Attouda	Stephanus, 692	4	4	4	5	7	—	3	3
6. Mossyna	Joannes, 692	5	5	5	6	8	Theophylaktos	4	4
7. Ankyra	—	—	—	—	—	6	Constans	6	6
8. Synaos	—	—	—	—	—	10	Stephanos	7	7
9. Tiberiopolis	—	—	—	—	—	2	Michael	8	8
10. Kadoi	—	—	—	—	—	11	Theodoros	9	9
11. Aizanoi	—	—	—	—	—	9	Joannes	10	10

NOTES.—The numbered *Notitiae* after Parthey (*Hierocles et Notitiae Gr. Ep.*, Berlin, 1866). Not. Basilii and Leonis after Gelzer (*Georgii Cyprii Descr. Orb. Rom.*, Lips., 1890). Not. de Boor as in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* XII 520. The dates are very rough. The following spellings are notable :—

2. Μελουπόλῃς in VII ; Μεταλλουπόλεως in X. 3. Διονυσίου πόλεως in VII. 4. Ἀγρούδων in VIII ; Αὔτρούδων in III. 5. Μεσόνων in VII. 7. Ἀγνερο-  
συναοῦ in de B. 10. Κάχδους in de B. ; Κανῶν in III. 11. Ζανῶν in III, X. 5. Φόβης at *Concil.* 879.



## CHAPTER IV

### CITIES OF THE MIDDLE MAEANDER VALLEY: MOSSYNA, MOTELLA, DIONYSOPOLIS, HYRGALEIS

§ 1. Situation and Scenery p. 122. § 2. Mossyna p. 122. § 3. Thiounta p. 124.  
§ 4. Dionysopolis p. 126. § 5. The Hyrgalean Plain p. 126. § 6. The Pergame-  
nian Foundation p. 127. § 7. Anastasiopolis, and the Hyrgalean Union p. 128.  
§ 8. Phoba p. 129. § 9. Hieron of Mother Leto and Apollo Lairbenos p. 130.  
§ 10. The Holy Village of Atys p. 132. § 11. Lairbenos p. 133. § 12. The  
native Anatolian Social System. (a) Enfranchisement by Dedication p. 134. (b)  
Exemplaria p. 134. (c) Hieroi p. 135. (d) Ceremonial Purity p. 136. (e) Deisi-  
daimonia p. 137. (f) The God as Sender and Healer of Disease p. 138. (g) Sacred  
animals p. 138. § 13. Motella p. 141. § 14. Villages p. 141.

Appendices : I. Inscriptions p. 142. II. Bishops p. 157.

§ 1. SITUATION AND SCENERY. We take this district immediately after Hierapolis, because there was a very close connexion between it and Hierapolis, and its inscriptions throw a much-needed ray of light on the religion of Hierapolis (and of Phrygia generally). The district lies on the middle course of the Maeander, immediately above the Lycos valley. Mossyna adjoined Hierapolis and was probably subject to it, and beyond it to north and east was Dionysopolis; both being on the left or southern bank of the Maeander, facing Motella on the right bank. The Hyrgaleis were the old Phrygian or Lydian people in whose territory the Pergamenian colony Dionysopolis was founded; and after that they continued to occupy the country adjoining Dionysopolis on both sides of the Maeander. The district as a whole is now called Tchal-Ova, and was called *Hyrgaletici Campi* by Pliny V 113. Its geographical character is more fully described in Ch. VII § 1.

§ 2. MOSSYNA. The district of Mossyna, inhabited by a people called Mossyneis, lies between Hierapolis on the south, the Maeander on the west and north, Dionysopolis and the Hyrgaleis on the north and east. It occupies the high-lying district on the rim of the plateau, to which the traveller ascends by a very steep climb of 3,000 feet from the Lycos valley. When one reaches the summit of what appears



from the Lycos valley to be a range of mountains, one finds oneself on the raised rim of a great plain which stretches away to the north until in the far distance the view is bounded by M. Dindymos (Murad Dagħ). Eastwards the view extends to the mountains behind Eumeneia (now called Ak Dagħ) and Sebaste (Burgas Dagħ). In this great plain the course of the rivers is remarkable. As you look across the plain from an elevated point, it seems to be flat and riverless and treeless; but, when you travel across it, you find that it is intersected by great cañons. The streams, which enter the plain from all sides, flow in the beginning of their course at the natural level; gradually their channels grow deeper and deeper, until at last they become cañons with perpendicular sides from a quarter to half a mile in breadth. Where two cañons join one another the scenery is very striking and grand. At last all the cañons are merged in that of the Maeander, which forces its way through the mountain-rim of the plateau and emerges into the low-lying Lycos valley at the height of about 600 feet above sea-level.

The Mossyneis have left no trace in written history. The name occurs only in the Byzantine lists<sup>1</sup> and in inscriptions. They struck no coins, and they are not mentioned in inscr. 29, where the self-administering states of this district unite to honour M. Plautius Venox. These facts suggest that they were subordinated in some way to one of their more powerful neighbours. Now it is clear that the power of Hierapolis extended close up to the Maeander and to Dionysopolis. Lairbenos, the god who had his seat in the temple overhanging the cañon of the Maeander, is mentioned often on coins of Hierapolis; and he appears to have had a close connexion with both Hierapolis and Dionysopolis, as citizens of both cities met in his service at the temple. Zeus Bozios, mentioned on coins of Hierapolis, also appears to have had his special seat close to Dionysopolis (§ 11). Further Thiountene marble was also called Hierapolitan<sup>2</sup>. Now Hierapolis was separated by Mossyna from Dionysopolis, from the temple of Lairbenos, and from Thiounta; and the connexion which is shown in the facts quoted seems to imply that Mossyna was subject to Hierapolis. It is well known that in several cases the great Asian cities exercised rights over wide stretches of country inhabited by different tribes.

The site of Mossyna was probably at Geuzlar-kahve, on the direct

<sup>1</sup> The Mossineis of Pliny V 126 in the *conventus* of Pergamos are of course a different people.

<sup>2</sup> This fact, taken alone, would be susceptible of explanation like the name Synnadic for Dokimene marble, see § 3.



horse-road from Serai-Keui to the Tchal district<sup>1</sup>, close to the highest rim of the plateau, and some distance south of the village Kodja-Geuzlar, the site of Thiounta. Beside the kahve are extensive ruins, chiefly vaulted tombs, of the Roman period, similar in form to the prehistoric building near Salamis in Cyprus, represented by O. Richter in JHS 1883 pl. XXXIV, and the Phrygian monument at Gherriz drawn by J. R. Steuart in his *Ancient Monuments of Lydia and Phrygia*. Inscr. 32, 33, have probably been carried to villages of the neighbourhood from this deserted and solitary locality, and used for building purposes; whereas the two inscriptions mentioning Thiounta (found a mile or more north of Kodja-Geuzlar) are far too heavy to move, and were lying in the field where they had recently been uncovered when I saw them in 1888 (nos. 30, 31).

The inscriptions of this district show clearly that it contained a series of separate villages, each probably with its distinct organization, but all under the great city of Hierapolis. Mossyna was merely one, though the largest and most important, of these villages. The strict organization, according to the Greek system, in a central *polis* had not penetrated into this retired corner; but the old village system still prevailed (*ὠκεῖτο κομηδόν* Strabo p. 646). The territory of great cities, like Laodiceia and Hierapolis, contained many villages; but the villagers were citizens of the central *polis*, and their villages were merely outlying fragments of the city. But, in the village system, such as we find in the district round Mossyna, each village had its separate individuality and administration: the population of each counted itself a *demos*: each had its own territory, which it held no doubt on the communal system, still widely spread in Asia Minor. In the Byzantine period the district was probably a *komopolis* (p. 298), a *polis* of villages taking its name from the largest, Mossyna<sup>2</sup>.

§ 3. THIOUNTA. One of the villages closely adjoining Mossyna was Thiounta, which was situated beside Kodja-Geuzlar<sup>3</sup>, in a gorge that breaks down steep to the Maeander, below the territory of Dionysopolis. The people of this sequestered village are perhaps the most quaint and unique that I have seen in Asia Minor. They are of very small stature and ugly yet not forbidding features, utterly unlike any other people known to me; and they have apparently preserved

<sup>1</sup> This road, which goes by Ak-Tcheshme (Mandama), six miles or more north-west from Hierapolis, must be distinguished from the modern araba-road, which goes round by Belevi.

<sup>2</sup> On the derivation of Mossyna, see

no. 32.

<sup>3</sup> The village of Kodja-Geuzlar (Kodja, big) is situated, I think, about two or three miles north from Geuzlar; but I have not gone direct from one to the other.



unmixed and unchanged the type of some old race. An ethnological observer would find them an interesting subject of study.

In Thiounta there was found a species of marble, which was widely used for sarcophagi. In an epitaph at Hierapolis, we read of a sarcophagus of Thiountene stone<sup>1</sup>. The name occurs in no other place; but the use of the stone spread much further, though, when it was carried to other places, it was known as Hierapolitan marble; the name of the great city supplanted that of the unknown village. This fact may suggest that Thiounta was subject to Hierapolis, which is otherwise probable. But the analogous case of Dokimian marble, shows that the inference is not certain: Dokimion, where the marble was found, was an independent *polis*, yet its marble was known to the world as Synnadic<sup>2</sup>. Hierapolitan marble is described by Strabo<sup>3</sup> as variegated like the marbles of Skyros, Karystos, and Dokimion. Magnificent sarcophagi of Hierapolitan stone are described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*de Cerim. Aul. Byz.* p. 644) in the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople: in them were deposited the remains of Theodora wife of Justinian, and of the wife of Anastasius Artemius<sup>4</sup>.

The religion of Mossyna and Thiounta was evidently exactly similar to that of Dionysopolis and Hierapolis. Of the government nothing is known. It is probable that the *agoranomos* mentioned in no. 33 was an official of Mossyna; but the *paraphylax* at Thiounta, no. 31, is more likely to have been a head of police for the entire Hierapolitan territory than an official of Thiounta alone. The *agonothetes*, no. 30, was doubtless an officer of Thiounta. If so, it is clear that each village possessed distinct individuality and a certain degree of self-administering power, though Hierapolis exercised some authority over them all. This authority was such that the taxation was paid to the imperial exchequer through Hierapolis: that city was assessed for the whole district subject to it, and these self-governing *komai* paid their share to Hierapolis (Ch. IX §§ 6 and 7).

Some of the villages mentioned below, § 14, may have been on the

<sup>1</sup> Waddington 1683. The same inscr. is published CIG 3915 with the text violently altered to *σορὸν Δοκιμηνήν*.

<sup>2</sup> This obviously was because the office of the *procurator marmorum* (CIL III 348; see *Inscript. inéd. de marbres Phryg.* in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* 1882) was at Synnada; and orders from the outside world were addressed to Synnada.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ μέταλλα τῆς ποικίλης λίθου τῆς

Σκυρίας καθάπερ τῆς Καρυστίας καὶ τῆς Δοκιμαίου καὶ τῆς Ἱεραπολιτικῆς p. 374. *Συνναδικῆς*, a marginal gloss to *Δοκιμαίου*, has crept into the text beside Ἱεραπ.; and the passage has been further corrupted, ΔΟΚΙΜΑΙΟΥ becoming ΔΕΥΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ and then Δευκαλλίας.

<sup>4</sup> Riske *ad loc.* knows no other references to this kind of marble, and can throw no light on it.



same footing as Mossyna and Thiounta. There is no evidence to determine.

§ 4. DIONYSOPOLIS is said to have been founded by Eumenes and Attalos, who found an archaic statue (ξόανον) of Dionysos in the district. The reference doubtless is to the brother-kings of Pergamos, Eumenes II (197-159) and Attalos II Philadelphos 159-138 (who founded Eumeneia, Philadelphieia, and Attaleia in Pamphylia). In this foundation-legend the reference to the native god as directing and sanctioning the foundation is an interesting point (so at Laodiceia Ch. II § 1): legitimation in the view of the older natives was thus gained for the new state<sup>1</sup>. Dionysos Kathegemon was a great deity at Pergamos; and the chief god of the new colony was Dionysos, as we see from its coins and especially a magnificent one which shows the god sitting in a chair, pouring out wine from a kantharos before a panther, while a satyr dances in the field, with the legend XAPHC · B · IEPEYC · ΔIONYCOY (*Rev. Num.* 1892 p. 123). That Kybele also should appear on coins, sitting between two lions, is natural in this district. The native god also appears with the enigmatic legend ZEYC · ΠΟΤΗΟC<sup>2</sup>.

As to the municipal government, coins mention the *Senate*, *Demos*, and *Strategos*; but the inscriptions give no information on the subject. *Addend.* 29.

§ 5. THE HYRGALEAN PLAIN. By a happy restoration of the MS. reading in place of a bad but generally accepted correction in the text of Pliny V 113, M. Waddington introduced the term *Hyrgaletici Campi* into the topography of Asia Minor<sup>3</sup>. Pliny, tracing the course of the Maeander, says that, rising in the lake of Aulocrene, it traverses first the country of Apameia, then that of Eumeneia, thereafter the Hyrgalean plains, and finally Caria, entering the sea ten stadia from Miletos.

<sup>1</sup> The territory that belonged to the god was taken for the colony, and his consent had to be gained (of course through some arrangement with the priest). His consent took the form of an oracle or vision ordering the foundation of the new city. See Ch. I § 6, II § 1, III § 9, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Zeus Poteus or Potes on lake Askania (no. 178) bears apparently the same title. Can it be a Thracian title introduced into both districts by mercenaries settled there by the Pergamenian kings (no. 168)? I have sometimes also thought

of Poteos as a rude attempt at the Greek Πύτιος (for Πύθιος see Schulze on *Posphoros* in *Zft. f. vgl. Sprachf.* 1894 p. 386 f). The title must remain a riddle for the present.

<sup>3</sup> The unjustified and unjustifiable 'correction' *Bargyleticos* had been generally adopted by the editors. *Bargylia* is not near the Maeander; but the editors merely inferred from that fact that Pliny was careless and untrustworthy. The passage is quoted Ch. VII § 1.



The Hyrgalean plain, therefore, was on the Maeander lower down than the Eumenian country. We can hardly identify it with any part of the long valley of Eumenia, Peltai, and Lounda; for the situations of all these towns are well-established, and they leave no room for the Hyrgalean plain between them. Moreover this long valley is really a single plain (Ch. VII § 1), and it is natural to suppose that Pliny's account (founded on some good authority) comprehends it all as the Eumenian plain<sup>1</sup>, and applies the name Hyrgalean plains to a different valley. This other valley must be the district called Tchal-Ova, under which name is now included the whole district along the Maeander from Lounda to the point where it enters the mountains that form the rim of the plateau, and divide it from the Lycos valley. Apparently Pliny (or rather the original authority from whom he quotes) intended this whole district when he used the term 'Hyrgalean Plains.' The modern unity of government is, therefore, in all probability true to the original character of the country. The unity was for a time interrupted by the foundation of Dionysopolis, which introduced a Greek city alongside of the native villages; but the Greek city perished, and the villages still remain. We can detect the precise period when the Greek names disappeared, and the native Anatolian spirit again became supreme; it seems to have been the eighth century (§ 8).

The Tchal-Ova is now one of the richest districts of the interior, producing large crops of wheat, opium, and grapes<sup>2</sup>. Grapes especially grow most luxuriantly; and the western part of the valley is, as Arundel says, 'the very land of Bacchus.' Hence he rightly conjectured that Dionysopolis was situated here; but he unfortunately selected the site of Mossyna at Geuzlar as that of Dionysopolis.

§ 6. THE PERGAMENIAN FOUNDATION. The precise site where Attalos planted his city is not certain; but it was probably at Orta-Keui. Here we have an excellent situation of the Pergamenian type (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 86), on a gentle slope on the outer skirts of the hills of the western Tchal-Ova, at the edge of a fertile valley. Orta-Keui, and the villages near it, Badinlar, Develar, Sazak, abound in remains of ancient life. The ancient remains, indeed, bear witness not to the Greek spirit<sup>3</sup>, such as we should expect in Dionysopolis, but to the native

<sup>1</sup> Strabo p. 629 calls the same great plain *Πελαγηνὸν πεδίον*.

<sup>2</sup> Some fine specimens of asbestos were shown us, and it was said to be very abundant: traces of copper were also clear in some minerals brought to

us, but those which we submitted to analysis in Smyrna were pronounced to contain only a very small proportion of the metal.

<sup>3</sup> One exceptional inscription is Greek and political in type, p. 131 n. 3.



Anatolian spirit, which the Greek colony was intended to counteract; and this fact for a long time made me inclined to look for the site in the eastern part of the Tchal-Ova, where the inscriptions show more of the Greek type, nos. 29-30. There is what the natives call a *kale* on the summit of a broad hill a little way south of Bekirli, and beneath its northern side is a place called *kilisse*<sup>1</sup>. These names prove that some ancient foundation existed here; but Prof. Sterrett, who examined the hill, reported that no signs of a Greek city could be detected on it. It is therefore probable that there was here one of the villages of the Hyrgaleis, and the decree found at Bekirli (no. 29) should be attributed to that people.

Near the village of Utch-Kuyu-lar<sup>2</sup> three miles north of Bekirli, in the extreme north-east of Tchal-Ova, there is a gentle rising-ground. When we saw it in June 1883, it was covered with a rich crop of wheat; but the natives declared that the soil was full of marbles, and that all the fragments (mostly Byzantine) in the village had been dug up there. In the village is the epitaph of a native of Dionysopolis, no. 36; and this place may contest with Orta-Keui the distinction of being the site of the city. At present no conclusive evidence exists. A native of Dionysopolis might die and be buried in a village of the Hyrgaleis; and moreover the name of Dionysopolis occurs in an inscription found near Orta-Keui, no. 37.

It is probable that the weekly market which is held at a solitary khan in the cañon of the Maeander on the right bank, three miles E.N.E. from Demirji-Keui, keeps up an ancient market-meeting of the Hyrgalean people (cp. Ch. V § 5, VIII § 3). This market-place, now called Kayi-Bazar, was formerly the centre of a large village or town; but about 1800 it was burned to the ground, and has never been rebuilt, and the seat of government is now at Demirdji-Keui.

§ 7. ANASTASIOPOLIS AND THE HYRGALEAN UNION. Judging from the order in Hierocles, Anastasiopolis should lie east of Dionysopolis; and therefore we must, in the present state of the evidence, recognize the western half of Tchal-Ova as Dionysopolis, and the eastern half as Anastasiopolis. The latter, therefore, must be the Byzantine name for the Hyrgalean people, who are never mentioned in the lists. We may presume that the administration of the Hyrgaleis was remodelled under Anastasius (491-518).

<sup>1</sup> The Mohammedans often apply the term *kilisse* (church) as well as *kale* (castle) to an ancient site.

<sup>2</sup> *Three Wells*: it is unusual to add the

plural termination *-lar* to a noun when a numeral precedes, and it is never done in modern Turkish; but here an archaism remains in a proper name.



In the Roman period the country was organized as a loose federation of separate villages or townships, the *Koinon* of the Hyrgalean Plain, no. 29; and a coin of Julia Domna, which mentions ΥΡΓΑΛΕΩΝ·ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ<sup>1</sup>, evidently refers to the concord of the various villages which united in the *Koinon*. The plain was then organized on the old Anatolian village-system (*ῥέκεϊτο κομηδόν*); and Anastasiopolis was apparently only a *komopolis* (§ 2). Thus it is natural that there are so many small ancient sites in the eastern part of Tchal-Ova.

We must then regard it as probable that the territory of Dionysopolis was situated more in the western than in the eastern part of Tchal-Ova, i.e. the original territory of the Hyrgaleis. After the Pergamenian colony was founded, the Hyrgaleis were restricted to the eastern part of Tchal-Ova; but the name *Hyrgaletici campi* apparently continued to be used as a geographical term denoting the entire Tchal-Ova. But probably the Hyrgalean and Dionysopolitan lands were intermixed in such a way that it would be difficult to divide them by a clear line. We may, however, take it as certain that a good deal of the best land fell to the share of the Greek colony.

The only other occurrence of the name Hyrgalean is in an epitaph found at Aidan near Eumeneia, erected by Papias, son of Attalus, Ὀργαλεύς, to his wife Tata, daughter of Ammia<sup>2</sup>.

An outburst of coinage of the Hyrgaleis marks the accession of Alexander Severus to the throne. Most of the few coins which we possess bear the date 306 (τὸ τς'). Alexander became emperor 11 March 222 A.D., which falls in the year 306 of the Lydo-Phrygian era. Some fact in the history of the district must be connected with this year and its rich coinage (compare the Laodicean coinage of A.D. 211, Ch. II § 10).

We may conclude from this fact that the Lydo-Phrygian era, of which the first year was 85-4 B.C., was used in this district. It belongs to the Apamean *conventus*, in many of whose cities that era was used, whereas no example of its use in any part of the Cibyratic *conventus* has been as yet discovered (except p. 289, cp. pp. 203, 280).

§ 8. PHOBA is mentioned very rarely and only in late documents, the list of the Synod of Photius A.D. 879, the later *Notitiae*

<sup>1</sup> I got a single glance at this coin, which was in the possession of a Greek trading-agent travelling in Tchal-Ova in 1883; but the jealous owner would not allow me a second glance.

<sup>2</sup> The epitaph is published BCH 1884 p. 248 by M. Paris, who prefers to read

Ὀργαλεύς, and to understand that 'Orgalia was probably a little city on the banks of the Orgas,' one of the affluents of the Maeander beside Apameia. It is noteworthy that Tata's mother, not her father, is mentioned (Ch. III § 6).



beginning from *Notitia Leonis* c. 900, &c.<sup>1</sup> The *Notitiae* which mention it omit Dionysopolis and Anastasiopolis; and it would therefore appear that for some reason Phoba took their place. The change seems to have occurred during the eighth and ninth century; and at the ecclesiastical reorganization under Leo VI the new state of things was officially recognized. The natural and original unity of the district was thus restored; and we should be inclined to suppose that Phoba is an old Anatolian name preserved in popular usage, though displaced for a time by the Greek terms Dionysopolis and Anastasiopolis. Further, if Phoba is an ancient name, we should also be disposed to conjecture that it is connected with the ancient religious centre of the whole district. Now Phoba is the exact philological equivalent in a language of the Greek type for the *bhaga* or *baga* of the Iranian speech (Sclavonian *bogu*), meaning 'god'; and in the commentary on no. 52 the use of the word as denoting 'the property of the god' is traced in this district and in other parts of Asia Minor.

We find about the eighth century many examples of old names re-emerging from obscurity into official or popular use<sup>2</sup>, while the Greek or Roman names corresponding to them disappear. These old names must have been preserved in the localities, being used by the uneducated part of the inhabitants. In such cases it is obvious that the Graeco-Roman civilization had gained a merely superficial hold on the population; and, as education, individuality, and the self-governing instinct were lost, while the government aimed at producing a general uniformity in a population governed by a military and ecclesiastical bureaucracy, the underlying Orientalism of the people reasserted itself, and the Anatolian spirit and nomenclature rose superior to the Greek.

§ 9. HIERON OF LETO AND LAIRBENOS. The key to the ancient history of the Tchal-Ova was given by the discovery in 1887 of the original governing and religious centre of the district, viz. the old *hieron* of the associated gods, the Mother and the Son, about two miles north of Orta-Keui. If we are right in placing Dionysopolis at Orta-Keui, the city which was intended to be the centre of Greek civilization was planted close to the old native centre of the district. Here, then, the same situation existed which we shall find more clearly proved at Eriza and also at Attanassos, &c. Amid an older native population, named Hyrgaleis, a Greek colony Dionysopolis was planted on territory torn from the original inhabitants. At Dionysopolis we can

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<sup>1</sup> Georgius Phobenus, a late Byzantine jurist of uncertain date, was apparently a native of this district; though the

variant *Phorbenus* is preferred by all the authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 25, 280, &c.



determine better than in most cases what was the previous condition of the territory. We cannot doubt that the extraordinarily fertile little plain which stretches between, and to the west of, the city and the temple, was originally the property of the *hieron* and its god. The Greek kings seem to have in some cases, and probably in general, taken possession of the splendid estates attached to the great religious centres of Asia Minor<sup>1</sup>. In some, probably in many, cases they used the estates to plant colonies which should be personally attached to themselves, garrisons to hold the country, and centres of Greek civilization; and this was the case at Dionysopolis. But the *hieron*, though deprived of much of its territory and its influence as a temporal power, continued to be the sacred place of the district, and exercised great authority over the native population and no small weight even in Dionysopolis<sup>2</sup>. The city was too remote from the great lines of communication to be a great centre of civilization and politics; and it has left us hardly a monument of its municipal life<sup>3</sup>. Hence it did not greatly affect the natives around; and the many monuments which they placed in the sacred precinct round the old native *hieron* reveal to us a more primitive state of society than we can trace anywhere else in Asia Minor. The great difficulty in studying the primitive populations of Anatolia lies in their illiterateness. Education was entirely Greek: all who learned to write learned Greek, and those who got any education were ashamed of their barbarian customs and language, and made themselves as Greek as they could. As a rule, no one cared to perpetuate the memory of his barbarian beliefs and ways, even where they had too strong a hold on his mind for him to shake them off. But at this *hieron* we find a number of memorials, written indeed in Greek, but by persons who knew very little Greek, who often could hardly write and were quite unable to spell, and who had learned their Greek by ear alone. Even these preferred to use the Greek language rather than to write their native language in Greek characters<sup>4</sup>; but they were not brought

<sup>1</sup> See Ch. I § 6.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek party and the *hieron*-party, no doubt contended for the direction of affairs in the city, just as they did in Ephesos on an immensely larger scale, and in every other Greek city similarly situated: see E. Curtius's admirable sketch of Ephesian history in *Beiträge zur Gesch. u. Topogr. Kleinasien* p. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Hogarth in his paper *Apollo-Lerne-*

*nus*, JHS 1887 p. 392, has published an interesting fragment, apparently of a law for the regulation of vineyards and protection of the owners (δεσπόται τῶν ἀμπέλων) against injury. The only other inscriptions of the district not religious or sepulchral are nos. 29 (Hyr-galeis), 56 (Motella), and those of the city Lounda.

<sup>4</sup> The latter custom is found only in the more easterly parts of the country.



in contact with any educated Greeks, and had not learned to be ashamed of their native religion and ways. Hence a unique value attaches to the rude and illiterate documents that they have left us.

The *hieron* was situated on a spur projecting from the Dionysopolitan plateau into the cañon of the Maeander. The *hieron* occupies the highest and most northerly end of the spur, and a lower neck of land lies between it and the plateau. Hence every one who approaches the sanctuary, goes up to it; and the term used in the inscriptions (*ἀναβαίνειν*) is fully justified<sup>1</sup>. The situation, on a hill which breaks down almost perpendicularly to the Maeander, 700 feet below, is most striking.

§ 10. THE HOLY VILLAGE OF ATYS. On the hill, near the temple, was the sacred village. It is called in several inscriptions *κώμη*. Beside it was the small estate that was left to the god, termed *χωρίον* in the inscriptions<sup>2</sup>. The village or the estate or both constitute the Atyokhorion of no. 34. In form the name resembles Meno-kome, Hierokome<sup>3</sup>, Menokome (Athen. II 43 A) and Attiou-kome at Orkistos. So the hieron of Men Pharnakou had round it a sacred village or *komopolis*, where dwelt numbers of *hierodouloi*<sup>2</sup>; and probably the *hieroi* in the Hyrgalean Plains came to Atyokhorion for their period of service. In 34 Apollonios, the hereditary priest, is styled *Ἀτυοχωρείτης*, and Strabo<sup>4</sup> mentions that the estates of Men Pharnakou were enjoyed by the reigning priest.

The name of the sacred village Atyokhorion proves that Atys or Attis must have played an important part in the cultus of the *hieron*, though his name never occurs in the inscriptions; so at Attouda (p. 169) also, the local name alone attests the part played by Atys in the cultus. We observe also that Attes occurs as an element in old Anatolian names (Attaia, lake and city, Attouda, Attalyda, Attalos, Attales, Attas, Attes), whereas Men is found only in the obviously late Menokome, Menodoros, &c. These facts prove that the name Attes belongs to an older status of religious history than Men. The name Kybele

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I have collected these Roman Phrygian inscriptions in *Zft. f. vergleich. Sprachforsch.* 1887 p. 381.

<sup>1</sup> The term is general: 'to go up to the sanctuary': e.g. the pilgrims to Panamara are *πάντας τοὺς ἀνερχομένους (ἀνιόντας) εἰς τὸ ἱερόν* BCH 1887 pp. 377, 380, 385.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Strabo p. 577, quoted p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Or Hiera Kome: there were many villages of this name, one in the Maeander

valley south of the river opposite Magnesia (Livy XXXVIII 14); another north of the river probably identical with Akharako-kome (Sterrett E. J. no. 4); a third in the Hermos-valley, called afterwards Hierocaesareia (as M. Imhoof-Blumer determined from coins in a private communication to me several years ago; and Dr. Buresch independently has recently shown).

<sup>4</sup> Strabo p. 557, quoted Ch. I § 6 note.



goes along with Attes, and must belong to the same stratum, whereas we saw that Leto probably came in from Cyprus and Pamphylia (Ch. III § 3); and history confirms the inference that Kybele and Attes were the ancient Phrygian names<sup>1</sup> of the Mother and the Son.

§ 11. LAIRBENOS. The deities worshipped in this temple were in Roman times called Mother Leto and Apollo Lairmenos, no. 34. Their relation as mother and son is obvious; and their connexion was so intimate that their cultus was practically a single one on the same altar (no. 41). The name Leto has been discussed (Ch. III §§ 3, 4). Lairmenos occurs in the varying forms *Λερμηνός*, *Λαρβηνός*, *Λαιρβηνός*, *Λυρμηνός*, *Λυερμηνός*. The great variety of forms shows that the epithet was non-Greek and contained a vowel-sound that could not properly be represented in the Greek alphabet (probably approximating to German ö). The epithet seems to be local, of the common Anatolian form, 'god of Lörbe,' and is probably derived from the chief seat of his worship. Lyrbe, an inland city on the borders of Pisidia and Isauria, probably near Seidi-Sheher lake (Trogitis *Hist. Geogr.* p. 419), bears the same name; and probably it was looked on as his special home, as Artemis Pergaia was introduced at Halicarnassos (CIG 2656)<sup>2</sup>. In that case the name used in later times points to a southern origin; and we find in this hieron the old worship of Cybele and Attis overlaid by later forms coming from the south (p. 91).

The name Lairbenos occurs on coins of Hierapolis. The deity is in all probability the same; and the Hierapolitan coins mention him for the same reason that they mention Zeus Bozios, see inscr. 52, because their influence extended over the territory of Mossyna right up to the neighbourhood of the *hieron*.

Various grecized modes of addressing the god occur in the in-

<sup>1</sup> Both occur in the old Phrygian monuments of the eighth or seventh century B.C. The name Ma or Maia is also deeply rooted in both personal and local names, and belongs to a very ancient period: it seems to mean both 'Mother' and 'Earth' (the two ideas were identified in the primitive Anatolian religion), *Μαί-ανδρος* and *Σκάμ-ανδρος* (*Σκαμ-*, Skt. *ksham-*, *χθών*) are equivalent names for rivers: Hesychius gives *μῶν* as Lydian for 'earth'; and *ων* for *αν* is a common phenomenon on the Ionian coast: we find also *Μαύ-σσωλλος* (cp. *Σαρεύ-*, *Ἀκταύ-*, *Παραύ-*, *σσωλλος*, &c. BCH 1880 p. 316). But the

names connected with Men all bear a late and grecized stamp, Menodotos, Menophantos, &c. (see Ch. IX § 3). Men is probably a grecized form of the real native and old Phrygian divine name Manes, which became a stock term for a Phrygian slave, and occurs as a divine name in an inscription of Siokharax.

<sup>2</sup> So Helios Apollon Kisauloddenos was imported to the acropolis of Smyrna *Mous. Sm.* no. *ρξς'*. The site of the hieron near Dionysopolis was not called Lörbe. Perhaps *lörbe* denotes an attribute (*bipennis*? p. 145), and the epithet means 'user of the *lörbe*': *Addenda*.



scriptions, Zeus, Zeus Nonouleus, Zeus Soter, Asklepios Soter; it is, however, impossible for us to discover how far the difference of personality was intended in these varieties of naming. Probably the view stated above is true<sup>1</sup>; but we must bear in mind how prone are the uneducated to give separate individuality to varieties of name, and even to regard the St. George of one town as better than the St. George of another.

§ 12. THE NATIVE SOCIAL SYSTEM. The sacred village is a necessary and universal adjunct of the great *hiera* of Anatolia. In it the priests must have lived, and those who were actually serving before the god. There is every probability that a little excavation on the site would give much additional information about this curious *hieron*. Meantime we collect the known evidence.

(a) ENFRANCHISEMENT BY DEDICATION. The first class of documents found here are deeds of enfranchisement (nos. 37-40). The name of the slave was inscribed on a list kept at the temple (*καταγράφειν*); some of the extant documents seem to have been engraved in a series on pilasters in the wall of the temple (no. 39); others were inscribed on the blank space left on stelae of a different character standing in the sacred precinct (no. 37). The documents usually contained the date, the name of the owner, the name of the slave, sometimes the occasion of enfranchisement; and concluded with a penalty against any one that challenged the status of the dedicated slave. In one remarkable case, no. 38, parents dedicate their son, whom they had exposed in accordance with a vision and who had been brought up by a stranger. The parents had probably bought him back from his foster-parents<sup>2</sup>, in order to dedicate him to the gods.

The influence of the divine command is noteworthy: of eleven manumissions, three at least were performed 'at the orders of the god'<sup>3</sup>. The phrase is very common in Anatolian inscriptions; and it is a relic of the original purely theocratic form of government, when the life of the population was guided mainly by the will of the god declared through his priests or prophets.

(b) EXEMPLARIA. An even more important class of documents are the *Exemplaria* or *Exempla*<sup>4</sup>. In the inscriptions of this class,

<sup>1</sup> See Ch. II § 1, second last paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny consulted Trajan about the *status* of such *θρεπτοί* (or *θρέμματα*), *Epist.* 65.

<sup>3</sup> Most of the others are too fragmentary to show if the occasion was stated.

<sup>4</sup> I use the term employed in the inscriptions themselves: *exemplarion* has a peculiar interest in connexion with the letters of Ignatius, where its occurrence has been made an argument against their genuineness. Here we find the term in common use during



nos. 41–53, the authors are represented as having approached the *hieron* or engaged in the service of the deity while polluted with some physical or moral impurity, and therefore unfit to appear before the god: they are chastised by the god generally with some disease, no. 43, sometimes through their property, no. 42, or their children<sup>1</sup>: they confess and acknowledge their fault (ἐξομολογέομαι): they appease the god, by sacrifice and expiation, no. 43: they are freed by him from their chastisement: and finally they narrate the whole in a public inscription as a warning and an exemplar to all not to treat the god lightly. In at least one case, however, the offence is failure to present oneself at the sanctuary at the proper time, no. 42. This implies that the offender was bound to present himself; now there was no idea in ancient religion that all people ought to appear regularly for worship at the time; therefore the offender in this case must have been under some peculiar regulation. It is probable that, though he does not think it necessary to state the fact, he was a *hieros*.

(c) **HIEROI.** The class of persons called *hieroi* are frequently found in Asia Minor and occasionally in Greece (p. 147); but their position and character are very obscure. It is probable that all *hieroi* were bound to certain terms of service at the temple; that during their service they had to abandon the social life which was usual in the Greek world, and go back to the primitive social state in which the Anatolian religion had arisen; that they formed a class apart from the community, and did not rank as citizens; that some were born *hieroi*, others were dedicated as *hieroi*, and a third class were ordinary citizens who voluntarily took service on themselves for a time, acting as *hieroi* though not belonging to the class, and then went back to the life of the world (p. 95). The *hieroi* had certain advantages, no doubt: they were under the protection of the temple: they probably had a share in any lands that were left to the temple, cultivating them and receiving a share of the produce. In the old time the *hieroi* had doubtless been far more numerous, when vast estates belonged to the great *hiera*; and they acted, for example, as skilled gardeners on the grounds of Apollo at Magnesia Mae. in the fifth century B. C. The evidence on this subject is stated more minutely in the following pages, and in the commentary on no. 38.

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the second and third centuries among a peculiarly illiterate people (p. 131). It spread from the Laodicean lawcourts through the country.

<sup>1</sup> Dedications ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τέκνων have not been found at the *hieron*; but they occur in other parts of Phrygia, though without any confession of guilt.



The character of the service imposed regularly on women who were *hierai* has been described in the chapter on Hierapolis (Ch. III § 6). Outside of their term of service they might conform to the ordinary life of society and marry, but during their service, they had to leave their husbands and live the free life of nature, in honour of the goddess. The conditions of the service of male *ἱεροί* are unknown; but perhaps they included various menial duties, for we find a case of marked reluctance to come to the temple at the proper time, no. 42.

Those persons who voluntarily took on them the divine service for a time seem to be the class named *θεοφόρητοι* by Strabo p. 535<sup>1</sup>. They were under the divine influence. The commands of the god were given directly to them, and they might be of various kinds. One kind is described in no. 18; but according to the interpretation which I have proposed of the romance of Thekla<sup>2</sup>, she was understood by the pagan inhabitants of Antioch to be under a service of absolute chastity. The widespread conception of the goddess as *παρθένος* (which really implied only that she was unmarried) rendered this interpretation easy and natural.

(d) CEREMONIAL PURITY. The inscriptions lay great stress on the necessity (Foucart p. 147) of purity (*ἀγνεία*) when entering the temple, or even the settlement round the temple (*χωρίον, κώμη*). The question cannot be definitely answered whether the causes of impurity are all purely ceremonial, or whether moral guilt is the reason in any case. The cases which approach nearest to the latter category are nos. 41, 44, where an oath has been broken. But it is probable that the oath was one binding members of a society; and as societies in ancient times united under the religious forms, the offence would in that case be against the religious sanction. Another offence is approaching the god in a dirty garment: cleansing the garments therefore was one of the rules of service<sup>3</sup> (no. 52). Akin to this is the obscure, but evidently gross, case of personal impurity mentioned no. 50. A third offence is eating the flesh of the sacred animal, the goat (no. 42). But the commonest cause of impurity is a sexual offence, nos. 45 ff., and the usual form is intercourse between husband and wife. Mr. Hogarth has explained this by the supposition that 'possibly the women of the neighbourhood served for short periods in turn, and during such periods were expected to keep free from' all sexual pollution. But this does not fully meet the case. In no. 46 the

<sup>1</sup> He expressly distinguished them from the hierodouloi.

<sup>2</sup> *Church in Emp.* Ch. XVI.

<sup>3</sup> Asceticism, with unwashed, and doubtless bare, feet was a rule of service at Tralleis, no. 18.



guilt of Apellas lay in his wishing to remain with his wife: the offence here seems to consist in the mere wish for continuance of the marriage-relationship during service. It seems to suit the extant evidence best to suppose that the persons who made these inscriptions were at certain times required to serve at the *hieron*, and during their service had to separate from their consorts; and in that case we must connect the separation with the fact that this religion did not recognize marriage as part of the divine life. The use of the term *hierai* in Strabo<sup>1</sup> corroborates our supposition that during the service of women at the *hieron* their marriage-relations ceased, and promiscuity was the rule of their service.

(e) DEISIDAIMONIA. Thus the primitive Anatolian type of society was maintained at the great sanctuaries, while the more civilized social system existed in the country generally. In proportion as the more advanced type of society became fixed and normal among the people, the chasm that divided the religion from the education and the life of the country became wider and deeper. More and more the old Anatolian religion came to be considered mere superstition and *δαισιδαίμονία*<sup>2</sup>, and was rejected by the most educated classes. In this state of feeling and thought, St. Paul began to preach. Wherever a class existed who had become familiar with the Graeco-Roman education and social system, they were predisposed to listen to him, because their intellect was alienated from the national deisidaimonia, and the state of change in politics and society amid which they lived made them open to new ideas (p. 96).

It is interesting to compare with these regulations the causes of impurity enumerated in the curious inscription found near Laurion, in which a Syrian slave founds a shrine of Men Tyrannos, and gives the chief rules of worship<sup>3</sup>. All who enter the temple must have bathed the whole body on the same day, and must be pure: impurity from garlic and pork and sexual intercourse lasts a day, from touching a dead body ten days, from skin-disease<sup>4</sup> forty days, while murder

<sup>1</sup> At the *hieron* of Komana Pontica *πλήθος γυναικῶν τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ὧν αἱ πλείους εἰσιν ἱεραί*: of the minority we may suppose that some (like Aimilia, no. 18) were serving for a period as a duty imposed by 'the god' in dream or oracle.

<sup>2</sup> Theophrastus's character of the superstitious man, Plutarch's treatise, and many other authorities (collected

by Foucart *Assoc. Relig.* §§ IX, X, XVI), show in what contempt the educated Greek mind held the Phrygian rites.

<sup>3</sup> See Foucart *Assoc. Relig.* p. 219. He remarks, p. 147, on the entire divorce of *εὐσέβεια* or *ἀγνεία* from any moral idea in the mystic and orgiastic cults that spread over Greece.

<sup>4</sup> *φθορά*.



entails lasting impurity<sup>1</sup>. He who enters in violation of the rules will find his sacrifice rejected by the god. No sacrifice may take place except under the direction of the founder of the temple; and if he dies or is sick or unwell, no one can take his place unless the founder has entrusted him with the duty. To pry into or meddle with the god's affairs is an inextinguishable crime<sup>2</sup>.

(f) THE GOD AS SENDER AND HEALER OF DISEASE. The chastisement inflicted by the god was generally some disease. At Dionysopolis the god is generally represented as the chastiser; and as such he is usually called by the Greek name Apollo. Apollo, as inflicting and averting diseases (the one power implies the other), is familiar in Greek religion from Homer downwards. In the Katakekaumene, on the other hand, the god does not appear so prominently as at Dionysopolis; and the punishment is usually inflicted by the goddess (so also sometimes at Dionysopolis, no. 53). The disease constituting the punishment is specified in some cases, generally by a relief representing the part affected; and where no part of the body is mentioned as affected, Hogarth's suggestion that fever was the chastisement is in accordance with the facts of the district (where any attack of indigestion or other general affection is accompanied by marked feverish symptoms) and highly probable.

(g) SACRED ANIMALS. A sacred character was attributed to some animals in the Anatolian religion. In no. 43 it is said that the goat is sacred (*ἱερός*) and must not be used in the ordinary sacrifice (*θυσία*), the flesh of which was eaten. We may probably understand, as Prof. Robertson Smith suggested to me, that the goat, as an animal sacred to the god, was permitted only as an offering of the most solemn kind, which was presented entire to the god; and that the offence in no. 43 lay in sharing the flesh at the sacrificial feast. The sacredness of the goat was inculcated in several ancient religions<sup>3</sup>. It was sacred to Dionysos and specially acceptable to him as a sacrifice: Dionysos himself was in some places represented and worshipped in the form of a young goat<sup>4</sup>. The goat appears often on coins of

<sup>1</sup> But this regulation about murder is found only in one of the two versions of his rules that Xanthos wrote. It seems to be derived from Greek ideas, and not to belong to the Anatolian religion (though purification from murder was needed in old Phrygian times, Herod. I 35). In Greece neither garlic nor pork entailed impurity.

<sup>2</sup> *ἀγνός* is not used in this inscription, only *καθαρός* and *ἀπλῶς* or *ἀπλῇ τῇ ψυχῇ*. *ἐξιλάσκειν* is the term for appeasing the god's anger.

<sup>3</sup> Zingerle differs, see *Addenda*.

<sup>4</sup> See Preller *Griech. Mythol.* ed. Flew I 589 f, where Stephani *Comptes Rendus* 1869 p. 57, Eckhel *Num. Vet.* 249, Hesych. *ἐρίφις*, *εἰραφιότης* are quoted.



Laodiceia on the Lycos as an accompaniment of Zeus, the chief god of the city. On a coin of Verus Zeus ACΕIC, standing, lays his right hand on the horns of a goat. Another coin has a bust of ZEYC · ACΕIC on the obverse and a goat on the reverse<sup>1</sup>. *Addend.* 30.

That the goat played some part in the Phrygian mysteries we can hardly doubt. Its connexion with the cultus led to various religious legends (*ἱεροὶ λόγοι*). According to the Cretan legend the infant Zeus was suckled by a goat; and a similar legend was probably current at Laodiceia, for a coin shows a bearded god standing supporting an infant on his left arm and extending his right to the horns of a goat (MG p. 407). The connexion of Dionysos with the goat was popularly explained by the Attic legend as resulting from the goat's fondness for eating the vine-leaves. The connexion probably grew up in Asia Minor in a state of society in which the goat was of great importance for the well-being of the people, and was represented as a divine gift to men too holy for sacrifice except as an entire burnt-offering, rendered to the god by his worshippers as a peculiarly valuable thing. The close association of the divine life with animals generally (Ch. III) was also exemplified in the connexion of the god and the goat. The view to which I have been led is that the Anatolian religion assumed its form on the great plains of the central plateau, where flocks were the chief possession of the inhabitants, and where goats were exceedingly numerous. In that case we might ask whether the sheep also was sacred. No evidence to that effect is known in later time, yet in the very ancient sculptures with which the front of the palace at Eyuk (15 m. N. from Pteria) were adorned, the victims for the solemn sacrifice which was represented on the left side of the entrance were a he-goat and three sheep<sup>2</sup>. It is, however, to be noticed that the goat is in front and single, and his horns are grasped by the priest<sup>3</sup>; while the very number of sheep<sup>4</sup> shows that they were

<sup>1</sup> Waddington *Voy. Numism.* p. 26, Imhoof-Blumer MG p. 407; see Ch. II § 1.

<sup>2</sup> The animals are represented in Pl. 60 of M. Perrot's *Exploration Archéolog.*, and the whole scene in Pl. 55. He calls the animal in front a *mouffon ou bouquetin*; but, though the horns are rather higher than those of a goat, the head is a goat's, and I believe that such was the artist's intention.

<sup>3</sup> On Laodicean coins the god stretches out his hand towards the horns of the

goat: the action is probably symbolical.

<sup>4</sup> They are not in single file, in which case the number might be taken as literally three: two are represented in perspective behind and above the most prominent, and the intention apparently is to indicate a flock. It is, however, certain that a ram played some part in the Phrygian mysteries, ἀποσπάσας ὁ Ζεὺς τοῦ κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους, φέρων ἐν μέσοις ἔρριψε τοῖς κόλποις τῆς Διοῦς, Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* c. 2



esteemed less important and less sacred, an ordinary sacrificial animal offered as a hecatomb.

The bull was also sacred. His part in the Phrygian mysteries is indicated in the line embodying one of the sacred formulae ταῦρος (πατήρ) δράκοντος καὶ πατήρ ταύρου δράκων<sup>1</sup>. In the sculptures of the palace at Eyuk the god to whom the goat and the hecatomb of sheep are to be offered is a bull standing on a lofty pedestal, with an altar in front<sup>2</sup>. In Asian hieratic art of the Roman time the bull's head often appears on tombs, where it is intended either to avert evil or to indicate the presence of a god. The god is often represented in votive reliefs with his foot on the bull's head<sup>3</sup>. It is noticeable that in two religious inscriptions, no. 42, a bull is connected with the crime or the punishment that led to the dedication.

It is noticeable that these are the sacred animals of a pastoral people. All but the sheep appear in the Hittite hieroglyphics.

The important part played by the serpent in the cultus has been already alluded to. As dwelling in the earth, appearing and disappearing in a mysterious way, the serpent was sacred in almost all ancient religions. As we have seen, the serpent is intimately connected with Sabazios. Sabazios is the same god who is often termed by the Greek name Dionysos, and whom we may safely recognize as the native god of Dionysopolis. But the character and personality of the God-father and God-son pass into one another in such a way in the divine tale or drama, that no clear line can be drawn to separate them<sup>4</sup>. Mysteries of Dionysos-Sabazios-Zeus may be assumed at Dionysopolis similar to those of Dionysios at Lagina at the temple of Hecate at Lagina<sup>5</sup>.

(where the article before κριός implies that the animal was actually brought on the stage).

<sup>1</sup> Clemens *Protrept.* c. 2. According to Arnobius V 20, Zeus actually took the form of a bull to force Deo. From such ritual as this sprang the Cretan legend of Pasiphae and the bull.

<sup>2</sup> Perrot *Explorat. Archéol.* Pl. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Men on coins of Antioch Pisid. and Sebaste Phryg., and on a relief from the Katakekaumene in Le Bas-Reinach Pl. 136 B, CIG 3438, Wadd. no. 667. Men on a coin of Temenothyrai stands on a car drawn by two bulls, Imhoof GM p. 202.

<sup>4</sup> Διόνυσος καὶ Σαβάζιος εἰς ἐστὶ θεός

Nymphis ap. Didot *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* III p. 14. But Mnaseas, ib. p. 155, says υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ Διονύσου Σαβάζιον. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. III 23, 58, tertium (Dionysum) Cabiros patre eumque regem Asiae praefuisse dicunt, cui Sabazia sunt instituta; quartum Jove et Luna. Also φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Περσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τινῶν Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον οὗ τήν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ κρυφίους παρειαγούσι διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν Diodor. IV 4; this extract gives some conception of the character of the mystic ritual.

<sup>5</sup> τοῖς τοῦ Διονύσου μυστ[ηρίοις] BCH 1890 p. 369.



§ 13. MOTELLA is so often mentioned in the inscriptions that it must have been in close connexion with the *hieron*, and was probably originally a village of the Hyrgaleis, just as it now forms a part of Tchal-Ova. It still retains its name as Medele, where no. 61 was found. In the Byzantine lists it is called Metellopolis or Metallopolis<sup>1</sup>; and it seems to be the place mentioned in Hierocles as Pulcherianopolis, which may be taken as a proof that it was under the administration of Pulcheria (414-53 A.D.) that the village was raised to the rank of a bishopric.

We may find in the name Motella a clue to the original connexion of the *hieron*. Motella is evidently related to the Phrygian feminine name Motalis (no. 21) and the Cilician masculine name Motalis (JHS 1891 p. 247); and, as Prof. Sachau (*Berl. Sitzungsber.* 1892 p. 320) has recognized, these are connected with Mutalli or Muttallu, the name of an old Hittite king of Gurzum (i. e. northern Commagene with capital Marash-Germaniceia, *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 17, 277 f)<sup>2</sup>. The close connexion of local and personal names is characteristic of the earliest Anatolian nomenclature. To the same early period belongs the name Bozis, applied to the territory of the god, and identical with Bazis, the name of the estate of Zeus Asbamaïos at Tyana (no. 52). We are thus carried back to a time when a uniform government and language existed over the wide plateau from Tyana to the Hyrgalean territory; and when the governing centre of this great empire was at Pteria.

§ 14. VILLAGES. A great number of other local names occur in the inscriptions, Kagyetta 62, 63, Salouda 64, 65, Melokome 64, Nonoula 56. There is no evidence to determine whether they were villages of the Hyrgalean Koinon, or were like Mossyna and Thiounta under the authority of Hierapolis, or were dependent on Dionysopolis. Kagyetta at Develar, and Salouda at Kabalar were very close to the site where we suppose Dionysopolis to have been situated.

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<sup>1</sup> The same vowels occur in the former as in the modern name, while the latter is modified to give a meaning in Greek.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Sayce's suggestion that the

name Mutnr, applied to a Hittite king in the treaty between Ramses II and the Kheta, is the same as Mutalli, is quoted with approval by Sachau.



## APPENDIX I.

### INSCRIPTIONS.

29. (R. 1883) Bekirli, ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἱεραπολειτῶν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Διονυσοπο[λειτῶν καὶ] ὁ δῆμος ὁ Βλανυδέων καὶ τ[ὸ] κοινὸν τ[οῦ] Ὑργαλέων πεδίου ἐτείμησαν [Κοί]ντον Πλαύτιον Οὐεν[ῶκα]. The four states named here are evidently neighbours, the four self-governing states of the district. Motella, Mossyna, Thiounta, &c., must therefore be either mere villages in the territory of the greater states or dependent townships (*civitates attributae*). It must have been on some important occasion, and in honour of some official, that these four states united in this honorary decree. The idea that first suggests itself is that Plautius must have been proconsul of Asia: against this the entire omission of the title constitutes an argument, and it is possible that he was a subordinate official (though the omission of the title<sup>1</sup> is almost as unusual in that case). As to the occasion, I have little doubt that it was the construction of a road connecting the four states, and benefiting all of them. They and they alone would benefit by a road leading up from Hierapolis to the plateau. The close connexion of Hierapolis, Dionysopolis, and the Hyrgaleis, is vouched for by the ecclesiastical district of Phrygia Hierapolitana, Ch. III App. III. The construction of this road would fully explain the remarkable union of these four states in this decree.

30. (R. 1888). (1) ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θιουντέων ἐτείμησεν στήλην κὲ στεφάνῳ φράτταν τὴν περὶ Θεόδ(ο)τον Διογενειανὸν καὶ Γλύκωνα Διοδώρου ἀγωνοθέτην. Θεόδοτος Διογενειανός. Γλύκων Διοδώρου ἀγωνοθέτης. Ζεῦξις Διοδώρου Ἀππας ἀγοράσας τόπον στήλης. Μένανδρος Γλύκωνος. Ζώσιμος Κυρτός. Εὐτύχης Εὐάρου. Μενεκλῆς Ἀλ(ε)ξάνδρου. Λυκώτας Ἀπολλωνίου. (2) Διόδωρος δ' Γοργίων. Διόδωρος β' Χερύλου. Μένανδρος δις Κύρων(ος). Ἀθηναγόρας Ἀπολλωνίου Σάβυς. Ἀ[πελ]λίδης Διοδώρου Θεόφιλ[ος]. Ἀπολ(λ)ώνι(ο)s . . . . . Ζεῦξις . . . . . πη . . . . ν. Ζεῦξις Κρυσίωνος. (3) Ζώσιμος

<sup>1</sup> It is quite probable that the reverse side of the column, which is at present concealed in the wall of the mosque, would explain the situation.



Ἀλεξάνδρου. Εἰόλλας Ζεύξιδος. Μένανδρος Ἀφ(φ)ειανοῦ Λεπτοπ(οι)οῦ. Διονύσις Τροφίμου. Ἀθηναγόρας Εἰλικίωνος. Διογένης Αὐξινίωνος. Τατιανὸς δὲς Διονυσίου. Ἀθηναγόρας Κερκυσ. (4) καὶ ἥλιψαν ἡμέρας ἡ'.

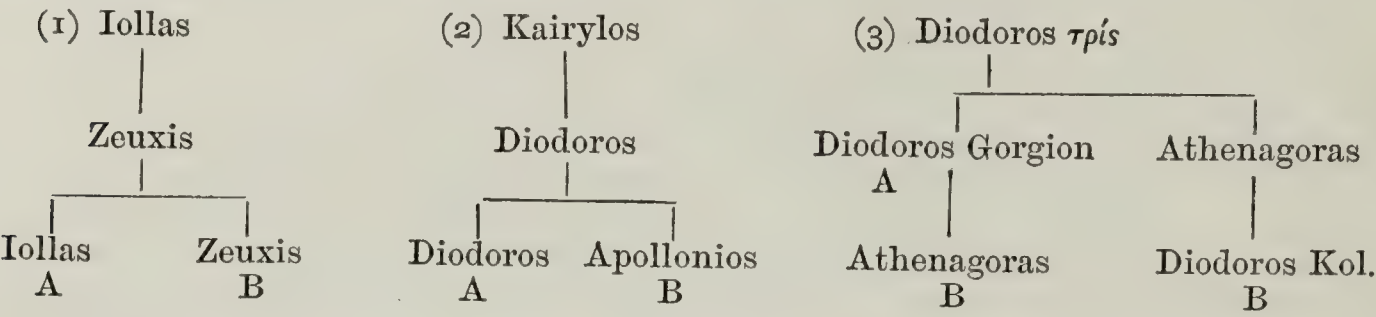
31. (R. 1888). (1) Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θιουντέων [ἐτείμησαν] στήλῃ καὶ στεφάνῳ φράτραι τὴν περὶ Διόδωρον Ἀθηναγόρου Κολοκυνθιανὸν καὶ περὶ Ἀθηναγόραν Διοδώρου Γοργίωνος. (2) Διόδωρος Ἀθηναγόρου Κολοκυνθιανὸς ἔδωκεν ἰς τὴν παννυχίδα (δηνάρια) φν'. Ἀθηναγόρας Διοδώρου Γοργίωνος. Κάσμος γ' τοῦ Παπίου παραφύλαξ. Ἀπολλώνι(ς) β' Λαπισας. Θεόκριτος Θεοκρίτου Κορυδών. Ἀπολλωνίδης Ἀπολλωνίδου Λεχίτου. Τατιανὸς Παπίου Αἰγεών. Ἀπολλώνιος Διοδώρου Χαιρύλου. (3) Ζεύξιος β' Ἰόλλα. Ζεύξιος Διοδώρου Κορυδών. Εὐξενίων Ζωσίμου. Ἰόλλας Ἀπολλωνίου. Ζεύξιος Ἀπολλωνίου Μικκήτου. Ζεύξιος Μενάνδρου Ψαφαρου. Ἀπολλώνιος β' Κεννηνίων. Ἰοῦστος β' Ἑλλήνιος. (4) Θεόδωρος Μάσωνος. Ἀπολλώνιος Θεοφίλου Πιτυρᾶ. Ζεύξιος Ἀπελλίδου Μυρήδος. Ἰόλλας Ἰκεσίου. Ζεύξιος γ' Γαίου. Εὐτύχης Διδύμου. Μένανδρος Εὐξενίωνος. Γλύκων Εὐτύχου Μόνγος. (5) [ἐπ]ειδὴ ἐποίησαν παννυχίδα τῷ Διὶ ἡμέρας ἡ' καὶ ἥλιψαν ἡμέρας ἡ'. These persons distributed oil for eight days.

Both these texts probably belong to the second century after Christ, and the utter want of Roman names, as contrasted with the inscription of Mossyna (no. 33), is explained by the secluded position of Kodja-Geuzlar, where they now lie. I passed over this country four times before I found that such a village existed.

They are engraved on two very large stelai, adorned with elaborate sculptures. The pediment of each stele shows Zeus standing in the centre with sceptre in left hand and holding out the right hand. To the left is Fortune of the Roman type with the rudder, and further to the left a quadriga in which stands the sun-god with radiated head. On the right is Hermes standing with caduceus in left and purse in right hand, and further to the right a car drawn by two oxen: the person who stood in this car is hopelessly defaced in both stelai. Both the ox-car and the quadriga are turned towards the centre. In the older stele, which is more rudely carved, the first group of the inscription is engraved below the pediment in several lines, irregularly: in the later stele, the first group is engraved in two lines along the top of the pediment. Each name of the long list which follows the introductory formula is written in two or three lines, and under the name the full-length portrait is carved in relief. In each stele there are therefore three rows of portraits, each row containing eight figures: all the portraits are exactly the same, except that some are bearded, others beardless: all stand, facing, with left hand hanging by the side and right hand appearing between the folds of the himation on the breast.



No. 30 is probably slightly older than 31. This seems proved by the following genealogical tables: the first is not so certain as the other two (A = no. 30; B = no. 31):—



Thiounta is probably to be understood as Θύ-ουνδα<sup>1</sup>, cp. Θυία, Θυά-τειρα (Τείρα, Ἀδριανουθήραι, Τημενοθύραι, Γριμενοθύρα), Θυ-ησσός and Θυ-εσσός. The termination -onda, -ounda, -ouda, -inda, -ouza, -aza, is very widespread in Asia Minor, Attouda, Aloudda, Sibidounda, Kyinda, Elouza and Elaza, Kalynda, Talbonda, Pyrindos, Akanda, Otorkonda, Oinoanda, Laranda, Arynanda, Kadyanda, Karyanda, &c. The termination -ανθος, -ινθα, -ινθος, is, as Pauli has remarked (*eine vorgriech. Inschrift von Lemnos* p. 51, which should be consulted on the whole subject), probably a dialectic variety of -ανδα, -ινδα. The variation between the forms with and without the nasal is characteristic of Cyprus, Pamphylia and Anatolia generally.

32. (R. 1883). At Geveze:—

RELIEF :	RELIEF :	RELIEF :
Horseman facing the goddess, figure broken but doubtless same as the opposite horseman.	Simulacrum of Artemis with all the character of the Ephesian, veil, mam-mae, supports for the hands, and a deer at each side.	Horseman facing the goddess, wearing chlamys, carrying battle - axe on left shoulder, and patera in right hand: the horse raises right forefoot.
‘Ο δῆ οι εἰ- λῆ καὶ	radiated head μος ὁ Μο[σσυνέων ς τὸ σύγγρ[αμμα?] στεφαν[οῖ (?)]	..... [ἐν τῇ βου-]

This inscription<sup>2</sup> justifies the order of Hierocles, who places Mossyna next to Hierapolis. Probably the country of the Mossyneis was originally subject to Hierapolis, and was elevated to the rank of a city by Byzantine policy, which inclined to raise the smaller towns to a level with the great cities and to break up the great territories of the latter. Hence, e. g.

<sup>1</sup> On the principle that spelling was bad in this remote community, and that the modern Greek pronunciation spread first among the least educated.

<sup>2</sup> I omit the argument, by which, when first publishing this inscription, I justified the restored name. It is now confirmed by another inscription, given below.



Orkistos was made independent of Nakoleia, and Tymandos was created a city.

The correct form of the ethnic is *Μοσσυνεύς*, which occurs in inscriptions and in the signature at *Concil. Quinisext.* A. D. 692, *Ἰωάννης Μοσσυνέων*. Mionnet mentions some coins with the legend *ΜΟΣΣΙΝΩΝ ΛΥΔΩΝ*; but they are probably misread for *ΜΟΣΤΗΝΩΝ ΛΥΔΩΝ*. M. Waddington has a coin *ΜΟCCHNΩΝ*, which however he attributes to the Mostenoi of Lydia.

Kiepert formerly placed Mossyna on the head-waters of the Morsynos, the river of Aphrodisias<sup>1</sup>; but the whole course of that river was included in Byzantine Caria. There seems no etymological connexion between the names Morsynos and Mossyneis. The latter seems to be a word of Anatolian or of Scythian type, connected with *μόςσυν* or *μόςσυνος*<sup>2</sup>, which means a tower or house of wood, while the former is perhaps connected with the Phrygian Marsyas<sup>3</sup>. *Addend.* 23.

The goddess of this relief is a familiar figure. She is the Mother, the Parthenos (i. e. the unmarried), the friend and lover of the wild animals, the patroness of the free life of nature, Artemis or Cybele or Leto. The god is also a very common figure on coins and reliefs of Asia Minor<sup>4</sup>. This horseman sometimes has more of the character of Men, sometimes more of Sabazios; but according to our view these are merely slightly differentiated varieties of one original type (pp. 104, 169, &c.). He often bears a double axe, or some other weapon, or symbol, in his hand. The horse almost invariably raises the right forefoot. A similar figure often occurs on tombstones in Anatolia: we shall not in this case (with Furtwängler *Todtenross*) see here the horse of death, but understand that the dead man is heroized and identified with the god from whom he came. This figure is usually single: here he is doubled. The duplication is perhaps a mere artistic device, to give symmetry to the work; and it is not improbable that such has been the cause of several of the double figures in mythology. It is certain that the pair of lions so often shown one on each side of Cybele, are a mere duplication of her attribute and companion, the lion.

<sup>1</sup> The name was formerly misread Korsymos. M. Waddington nearly 40 years ago showed what was the true reading; but still almost every writer who discusses the philology of Anatolian names discovers connexions with this false Korsymos, e. g. Pauli *vorgriech. Inschrift von Lemnos* p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> The lexicon of Stephanus gives a full account of the word. A people

Mossynes is mentioned as Scythian: and the Pontic Mossynoikoi are well known.

<sup>3</sup> On the change of vowel a and o, compare commentary on no. 52.

<sup>4</sup> This horseman is often wrongly called an Amazon, no. 42. See Roscher *ἵππος βορσώπους* in *Ber. Verhandl. Sächs. Ges.* 1891 p. 120 f.



33. (R. 1883 second half, and 1887 complete). In the mosque at Sazak. Διὲ Μοσσυνεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ · Γ(άϊος) Νώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου υἱὸς Ἀνιηυσία Διόφαντος, ὁ διὰ γένους ἱερεὺς, τὸ ἄγαλμα καὶ τὸν βωμὸν σὺν τῇ ὑποσκευῇ πάσῃ ἀνέστησε δοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων δην. . . τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ οἱ ἐπανγυιλάμενοι καθὼς ὑπογέγραπται · Ἀπολλώνιος β' τοῦ Φιλοξένου ἀν(γυιλάμενος) [δ]ίς<sup>1</sup> δην. ι' · Ἀπολλόδοτος Διοδώρου ἀγορανόμος δην. κέ · Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀπελλίδου σὺν Ἀπελλίδῃ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τοῖς υἱοῖς δην. λ' · Δαμάς Παμφίλου δην. λ' · Ἀντίοχος Γλύκωνος δην. ι' καὶ οἰνοπόσιον · Κλ(αύδιος) Ἑρμογένης δην. ι' · Ἑστιαῖος Ζωσίμου δην. ι' · Ἀχιλλεὺς Ἀπολλωνίου δην. ι' · Ἀπολλωνίδης (Ἀπολλωνίδου) Ἀλεξιδίων δην. ι' · Τ. Φλ(αούιος) Ἀγαθήμερος δην. ι' · Ἀπολλόδοτος Ζωσίμου Γάλβας δην. ι' · Ἀπολλόδοτος Σελεύκου δην. ι' · Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίδου δην. ι' · Ἀγαθόπους Μενεδήμου δην. ι' · Ζώσιμος Μενεσθέως δην. ι'.

The names show that the date is about A.D. 80–100. T. Flavius Agathemerios must have received the *civitas* under Titus<sup>2</sup>; and Apollodotos Galbas was no doubt born under the reign of Galba, Claudius Hermogenes under Claudius or Nero.

It is probable that C. Nonius Diophantos is hereditary priest, see commentary on no. 35. His father's name, Apollonios, is derived from one of the common Greek identifications of the Phrygian god, while his own name is derived from the one employed in this inscription. Names derived from Apollo are very common in the priestly families of this district, nos. 34, 35, 56.

34. (R. 1883). Badinlar. Μητρὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι Λυερμηνῷ Ἀπολλώνιος Μηνοφίλου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀτυοχωρείτης ὑπὲρ Λαομέδοντος καὶ Εἰφιανάσσης τῶν τέκνων τὴν στοὰν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐποίησε. Apollonios, who evidently studied Homer and the Trojan Cycle, and named his children accordingly<sup>3</sup>, is also mentioned in the following inscription engraved on his tomb.

35. (R. 1883, 1887). Zeive. Ἀπολλωνίῳ Μηνοφίλου τῷ διὰ γένους [ι]ε[ρ]εῖ τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιου ἡ θυγάτηρ Εἰφιανάσση καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Παυλῖνος καὶ Δημήτριος οἱ ἑγγονοὶ τὸ ἥρῳον κατεσκεύασαν. Apollonios was priest of Asklepios Soter by right of birth. The phrase used here is similar to that used at Panamara<sup>4</sup> (where the priesthood was elective

<sup>1</sup> ΑΝΑΙΣ in my carefully verified copy: the reading seemed certain.

<sup>2</sup> He was probably a manumitted slave of the emperor, see no. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Eiphianassa also occurs as a name at Herakleia Salbake, Wadd. 1698. On Epic names see no. 189.

<sup>4</sup> ἱερεὺς ἐκ γένους, i. ἐξ ἱερέων καὶ προγόνων, i. ἐξ ἱερέων BCH 1891 p. 170. It is characteristic of the honorific style to extend the use of a title till it becomes a mere compliment: moreover ἱερεὺς ἐκ γένους only means 'of a priestly family.' See p. 51.



and annual) to indicate the members of certain families who often held it; but this loose and wider usage is founded on the strict and original sense, which is in all probability the one here intended. It sometimes occurs in the fuller form *ιερεὺς διὰ γένους καὶ βίου*.

36. (R. 1883). Utch-kuyu-lar. 'Ρηγείν]ος 'Ασκληπιάδου Δ[ιονυσο]πο[λ]είτης καὶ Τάτα [ἡ γυνὴ αὐτ]οῦ 'Ρηγείνῳ ἰδίῳ τέκ[νῳ] μνήμης χάριν. The stone bears ποδείτης.

37. (R. 1887: published by Hogarth in JHS 1887 no. 1). At the *hieron*. 'Απόλλων[α] Λαιρμηνὸν θε[ὸν] ἐπιφανῇ κατὰ ἐ[πι]ταγὴν Χαρίξενο[s] Μενεκλέους [Διο]νυσοπολείτη[s]. Below this was written later, in smaller letters, ἔτους σγγ', μηνὸς σ', κ' (209 A.D.), 'Απόλλωνι Λαιρμηνῷ Μάρκος Διονυσοδ[ώ]ρου Μοτελληνὸς καταγράφω 'Αμμίαν τὴν θρε[πτήν] μου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν θεοῦ· εἰ δέ τις ἐπενκα[λεῖ], θήσει ἰς τὸν θεὸν προστείμου δην. βφ' καὶ εἰς τὸν φύσκον ἄλλα δην. βφ'. In this inscription *θρεπτός* might possibly indicate a slave born in the house; but 'foundling' is the regular sense and more probable here (as in Pliny *ad Traj.* 65). *Θρέμμα* has the same meaning. *Addend.* 31.

38. (R. 1883). Sazak. ἔτους τις', μηνὸς σ', ι', Δ[ιονύσιος? 'Απολ]-λωνίδου Διδύμου ἱερὸς καὶ [Μελτίνη] ἡ γυνή μου καταγράφομεν 'Ηλίῳ [Ἀπόλ]-λωνι] Λερμηνῷ Δίδυμον κατὰ ὄν[αρ ἐκτεθέντα], ὃν δ' ἔθρεψεν Νεικηφόρ[ος Νικαίου?] Μο(τελληνός)· εἴ τις δ' ἂν ἐπενκαλέσῃ [ἢ ἀδικήσῃ], θήσι εἰς τὸν ταμείον [πρόστειμ]ον δην. βφ', κὲ εἰς τὸν θεὸν δην. [βφ']. Here and throughout the following inscriptions, a proper name or a phrase is occasionally restored (marked with a point of interrogation) merely to make the construction clear.

If we could determine the precise character of the *ιεροί*, we should be able to clear up our present subject. The term occurs at Ephesos CIG 2953 b, Wadd. 136 a (Hicks p. 86); Erythrae BCH 1180 p. 380; Smyrna CIG 3152, 3394, Wadd. 1522 a, *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 p. 131; Aizanoi CIG 3842 b; Mytilene *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 p. 270; the Andanian Mysteries in Messenia Le Bas-Foucart 235, 255; Tralleis (or probably Herakleia see no. 72) *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 p. 278; Magnesia Mae. (where they act as gardeners BCH 1889 p. 530, in the fifth century B.C.)<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand the term *ιερόδουλος* is almost unknown in Asia Minor; I find it once in the Katakekaumene. It is probable that the *hieroi* represent the *hierodouloi*, as the institution was modified by the development of western civilization in Asia Minor<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> MM. Cousin and Deschamps prefer to take *ιερός* as adj. in this text.

<sup>2</sup> The *ιερόδουλοι* of Sarapis, CIG III p. 306, nos. 5082, 6000, voluntarily dedi-



The *ἱεροί* were not citizens of the Greek πόλις; at Ephesos the citizenship was offered to them, along with freedmen and strangers, Wadd. 136 a; but in the Roman period they probably ranked as citizens.

At Erythrai the demos and the *ἱεροί* united to erect an honorary inscription. At Smyrna in one case a *ἱερός* was slave to a distinguished citizen (Wadd. 1522 a); but this appears quite exceptional. The *ἱεροί* were certainly as a rule free, for they are mentioned in some cases with father's and grandfather's names attached. Mr. Hicks's opinion that slaves who were manumitted by dedication became *ἱεροί*, and their descendants kept the same status, is probably right; but he does not quite succeed in removing the difficulty (whose existence he acknowledges) that the *ἱεροί* would in that case be more numerous than we have any reason to think them. The hypothesis may be hazarded that (1) in some cases persons living as *hieroi* had voluntarily chosen a term or a life of dedication to the service of the god (like the *hierodouloi* of Sarapis, p. 147), preferring this to the life of ordinary citizens; (2) dedicated slaves became *hieroi*, and their descendants might either remain so, or by taking certain steps become citizens; (3) *hieroi* lived, if they chose, in the ordinary social state, while not engaged in their service; but they were bound to present themselves at the sanctuary for certain terms of service (*παράγειν* no. 42); and during such terms they had to give up the society of husband or wife, and live the divine life (pp. 94 f, 135).

Persons who became *hieroi* involuntarily must remain so, no. 42.

39. (R. 1883). Sazak. [ἔτους . . . , ὁ δεῖνα καταγράφει κ.τ.λ., εἴ τις δὲ ἐπε]νκαλέσει [ἢ ἀδικήσει, θήσει προσ]τείμου [εἰς τὸν κυριακὸν]ν φύσκον δην. βφ'.

[κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν θε]ῶν Ἀπόλλωνι Λαρβηνῶ Μ[ηνόδορος? Μηνο?]φάντου Ἱεραπολίτης καὶ ἡ γυνή μου Μελτίνη? καταγρ]άφομεν τὸν ἑαυτῶν τεθρε[μμένον Ἀμμιανό?]ν · εἴ τις δὲ ἐπενκαλέσει, θήσι προστείμου εἰς τὸν θεὸν δην. βφ' καὶ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ τ[αμείον]. This and the preceding are engraved on blocks of the same shape, square capitals 8 in. high, surmounting short square blocks. These are probably the top blocks of engaged pilasters, on which lists of enfranchisements were kept at the temple. Perhaps we should read [ἔτους . . . Ἑλί]ω(ν), a false form for Ἑλίω, in the opening of the second registration.

40. (R. 1887: Hogarth l. c. no. 8). At the *hieron*. [δώσει δην. φ' εἰς τὸν φύσκον καὶ ἄλλ]α ἰς α[ . . . ]. [ἔτους σπ.?]ζ', μη(νὸς) α', ιη', Ζη[νόδοτος? Ζήνωνος? κ]αὶ ἡ γυν(ή) μου[ν Μελτίνη? καταγρ]άφομ[εν] τὸν ἐ[αυτῶν τεθρεμμένον

cated themselves to the service. In an unknown island of the Cyclades, prob- ably, the term *ἱερόδουλος* occurs CIG 2327.



Παπί]αν, ὃς δ' ἂν ἐπενκαλέσῃ, θήσῃ] εἰς [τὸν φύσκον δην. βφ']. This also seems to be a fragment of a column containing a list of enfranchisements. Hogarth publishes also fragments of six other enfranchisements which we copied at the temple: but they add nothing, except that two record the enfranchisement to have been κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ. If *θρεπτός* and *τεθρεμμένος* always denote foundling, exposure of children must have been very common in the district.

41. (R. 1888). At Badinlar. Σώσανδρος Ἱεραπολε(ί)της ἐπιορκήσας καὶ ἄναγνος ἰσῆλθα ἰς τὸ σύνβωμον · ἐκολάσθην · παραγγέλλω μηδένα καταφρονεῖν τῷ Λαιρμηνῷ, ἐπεὶ ἔξει τὴν ἐμὴν στή[λλ]ην ἔξενπλον. Natives of Hierapolis seem often to have worshipped in the temple at Dionysopolis (cp. no. 37). τὸ σύνβωμον seems to denote the temple of the conjoint deities, who were worshipped on the same altar (σύνναοι καὶ σύνβωμοι). Sosandros was impure from having violated his oath: the question is whether the oath was a religious one, e. g. an oath binding a society of *ἐρανισταί* (see Foucart *Assoc. Relig.* p. 210, l. 9), or came in the course of ordinary life and business. The former is more in accordance with the rest of the inscriptions; the latter would give a wider moral tone to the inscription than is warranted by the purely ritualistic character of the impurity in other cases. In his impurity Sosandros entered the temple; he was chastised; and he erected the monument as a warning to others not to treat the god lightly. I owe the restoration στή[λλ]ην to Mr. Hogarth: from it began my understanding of the whole series.

42. (R. 1888). Orta-Keui. [Ὀν]ήσιμος Ἀπόλλωνι [Λ]υ[ρμηνῷ]<sup>1</sup> εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κολ[ασθ]έντος βοὸς διὰ τὸ ὑσ[τερηκέν]ε καὶ μὴ παραγεγον[ένε στήλη?] εὐσήμῳ ἰ[λασάμενος εὐλογ]ῶν εὐξάμ[ενος ἐστηλογράφησ]εν<sup>2</sup>. Over this relief is a *bipennis*, the symbol of the god. A relief at Develar represents the god as a horseman, with the axe on his shoulder, the same type which is so common on coins of Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, &c., and which is wrongly called 'amazon' by most numismatists. Onesimos had been too late for service and had not put in an appearance at the temple; his ox was chastised: he propitiated the god by this beautiful monument, and blessed his might (εὐλογεῖν is a technical term in these inscriptions, see no. 52), and made a vow, and engraved the inscription as a warning to others. The restoration ἰλασάμενος is far from certain. The ox was probably affected as being peculiarly sacred to the god (§ 12 g). It is noticeable that in an inscription of unknown provenance, now in Berlin<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Λ]υ[ερμηνῷ] is hardly possible, as there is barely room for Λυρμηνῷ.

<sup>2</sup> The conclusion is lost; probably παραγγέλλων κ.τ.λ.

<sup>3</sup> It is said to have come from Koula along with no. 52; and it probably belongs to the Katakekaumene, where Apollon Tarsios was worshipped.



an ox is mentioned; ἀνθέστησαν οἱ Ἀρτέμωνος υἱοὶ τὸ κατηχθὲν στηλλάριον ὑπὸ τοῦ βοῦς Ἀπόλλωνι Ταρσῖ: over the inscription is a *bipennis*. Does this mean that Artemon's sons had erected this stele to replace one that had been knocked down and broken by his ox? If so, the ox must have been taken into the holy precinct for some religious purpose.

43. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 17). Orta-Keui. [—] καθαρμοῖς κε θυ-  
σίαις εἰλασάμην τὸν Κ[ύριον] ἵνα μν<sup>1</sup> τὸ ἐμὸν σῶ[μα σῶσ]ι κὲ ΜΟΠΣΜΕ  
[ὅτι ἐμὲ?] ἀποκαθέστ[η]σε [τῷ ἐμ]ῷ σώματι · διὸ παραγγέλλω μηθένα ἱερὸν  
ἄθυτον αἰγοτόμιον ἔσθειν ἐπεὶ παθίτε τὰς ἐμὰς ἐμὰς κολάσεις. This in-  
scription is better cut (in deeply engraved letters) and better expressed  
than most others. It is unfortunate that the statement of the offence  
is lost: it involved eating goatflesh, which seems to have been forbidden  
in this worship (see § 12 g). The title Κύριος, here given to the god, is  
not commonly applied to the god; so Κυρία Ἀρτεμις at Ephesos, p. 90.  
Hogarth p. 391 supposes that the sacrificial meat became a perquisite of  
the *hieroi*; but this is doubtful. As a rule, the flesh of the *θυσία* was  
divided between the god, the worshipper, and the officiating priest. The  
share of the priest is carefully stated in Xanthos's inscription (Foucart  
p. 220), and M. Foucart remarks on the analogy with Semitic usage in  
regard to the parts assigned to the priest. The title Κύριος has also  
a Semitic character. See p. 90. Dr. Zingerle differs, see *Addenda*.

44. (R. 1887, 1888: Hogarth no. 19). Badinlar. Γ(άιος) Λόλλιος  
Ἀπόλ[ωνι Λερμ]ηνῷ ὁμόσας κ.τ.λ. This inscription is probably of the  
same class as no. 41; but the traces of letters that follow cannot be  
restored satisfactorily.

45. (R. 1887, 1888: Hogarth no. 12). Badinlar. Ἀτ[θ]εῖς Ἀγαθημέ[ρ]ου  
ἱερὰ βιαθῖσα ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ κὲ ἡμαρτῆσα ἐτήκω κολαθῆσα ἐπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ · ἐπὶ δὲ  
κ(ε) ἐστηλογράφησεν παραγέλων μηδένα καταφρονεῖ. ἐτήκω is probably for  
τήκομαι (active for passive and prothetic vowel are not out of keeping  
with the Phrygian Greek of the following texts), 'waste away from  
fever or other formless disease.' The relation of the first two words  
determines the general meaning: was Atthis wife or daughter of  
Agathemeros? In the latter case the impurity was due to incest under  
compulsion; but the analogy of the following texts shows that the  
former is more probable. Atthis, during her period of service, became  
guilty under compulsion of her husband; she was chastised; and by  
the inscription warned all to observe the rules of the god's service.

<sup>1</sup> μν for μοι is an interesting form. At Aloudda we find πανθυνια for πανθοινια  
in an inscription of, probably, the first century B.C.



46. (R. 1887, 1888: Hogarth no. 13). Badinlar. Ἀπε[λλᾶς Ἀπολλ]ωνίου Μοτελληνὸς ἐξομολογοῦμε κολασθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπεὶ ἠθέλησα μεῖνε μετὰ γυνεκός· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν παραγγέλω νᾶσιν (i. e. πᾶσιν) μηδένα καταφρονεῖ τῷ θεῷ, ἐπὶ ἔξει τ[ὴν στ]ήλην ἐξονπλάριον· μετὰ τῆς ἐμῆς γυνεκὸς Β[ασ]ι[λ]ίδος<sup>1</sup>. We may understand that Apellas was ἱερός, and that he sinned by wishing to remain with his wife during his period of service. It was therefore the rule during service that persons who were married should separate. As we have seen, true marriage was not a part of the religion of Anatolia (Ch. III § 6); and the god did not recognize it in his service.

47. (R. 1888). [. . . παραγγ]έλλω μ[ηδένα καταφρ]ονεῖν τοῦ θε[οῦ, ἐπεὶ ἔξ]ει τὴν στήν [i. e. στήλην] ἐξενπλάριον. The last word also occurs (besides corrupted forms in nos. 46, 48) in Ignatius's *Epistles*; elsewhere its use has been made an argument against the genuineness of the letters<sup>2</sup>.

48. (R. 1887, 1888: Hogarth no. 14). Badinlar. Ἀφία? Αὐρ]ηλίου Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ου<sup>3</sup> δι τὸ ἡμαρτηκίνει ἐπεὶ τῷ χωρίῳ ἰσετύχει καὶ διῆ<λ>θα τὴν κώμη· β', ἀνάγνα λησμονῆσα παρήμη εἰς τὴν κώμη· παραγγέλλω μηδεὶς καταφρεινήσει τῷ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ ἔξει τὴν σ[τ]ίλην ἐξοπράρει[ον]. The woman who erected this monument was extremely illiterate. Her intention apparently was to say that, on account of her having sinned in entering the village attached to the temple while impure, she had been chastised, &c. But she has not succeeded in expressing her meaning. She uses both the terms χωρίον and κώμη; she says 'I chanced and traversed (i. e. I chanced to traverse) the village,' and then, feeling she has expressed herself unsuccessfully, she starts again, β' ('a second way of expressing' i. e. 'or'), 'in impurity forgetting I came to the village.' ἐξοπράρει[ον] for ἐξενπλάριον is obviously an error of ear: the woman knew Greek only by ear, and very slightly. Then, after she had concluded, she observed that she had omitted to mention her punishment and her confession; and she added words which are almost unintelligible ΕΡΕΙΣΕΤΟΝΜΕΤΟΝΗΠΡΟΓΕΜΕΝΕ . . . ΥΧΕΙΣ καὶ ἐξωμολογησά[μην] καὶ ἰλάθη· Ο.

49. (R. 1887, 1888: Hogarth no. 15). Badinlar. μέγας Ἀπόλλω Λε[ρ]μηνός· Σόφρον ἱερὸς κολ(α)σθεῖς ἐπὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λε[ρ]μηνοῦ δεῖ τὸ ἐμαρτην-

<sup>1</sup> The last five words are an addition intended to explain the too brief phrase above. The stone has distinctly Βλειδίδος, which may be right; but engravers' errors are numerous in these inscriptions, and the correction is easy. With ἐξονπλάριον here compare ἐξο-

πράρει(ον) in no. 48.

<sup>2</sup> See Lightfoot *Ignat. & Polyc.* I p. 296, II p. 34. The Roman legal term spread, doubtless, from the *conventus* of Laodiceia.

<sup>3</sup> I have also thought of [μέγεθος] Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλ[ων]ο[ς] (-ου for -ος).



κένει ΠΟΙΣΤΡΙΦΟΙΣΝ εἰλάστην ΚΛΗΣΕΙΠΟΥΚΕΙΤΟΓΖΗΝ ἔλασα Ἀπολ-  
λ[ώ]νου μάκεδος (μέγεθος) καὶ AMAZONACKA · ΝΕΙΚΟ · ΑΧΕΙΛΙΑΙC  
ἐξομολογησάμενος εἰστηλογράφησα παραγέλω μηδὲς καταφρονήσει ἐπεὶ κ.τ.λ.

The concluding two lines are indecipherable; but seem to have had a different formula from the usual ἔξει τὴν στήλην ἐξεμπλάριον. Until some analogous inscription reveals the proper forms, this ignorant and corrupted *exemplar* will probably remain unintelligible. It seems to contain διὰ τὸ ἡμαρτηκέναι προστρεφθείς.

50. (R. 1887, 1888: Hogarth no. 16). Badinlar. Αὐρήλιος Σωτηρχὸς Δημοστράτου Μοτεληνὸς κολαθὶν ἐπὶ τῷ θεοῦ παραγέλων πᾶσι μηδὲς ἀναγνον ἀναβῆτε ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐπὶ προκήσι ἢ κηνήσετε τὸν ὄρχις · ἔγωγε ληκηνσάμην ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίων. The Greek of this inscription is peculiarly barbarous, and suits the disgusting subject. Mr. Robinson Ellis suggests that ληκηνσάμην is intended as an aorist from ληκάω<sup>1</sup>. Most of the other words are explained by analogies from the preceding inscriptions.

51. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 18). Badinlar. [Ἀσκλ]ηπιάδης Ἀττά[λου] ἱερὸς κολασ[θεὶς] ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιφ[ανεστ]άτου θεοῦ [Ἀπόλ]λωνος Λαρ[μηνοῦ] ὅτι πενφθεὶς [εἰς ὁμο]λο[γ]ίαν ἡμά[ρτηκεν] καὶ ὅτι . . .

52. Published by Conze *Arch. Ztg.* 1880 p. 37<sup>2</sup>. Ἀντωνία Ἀντωνίου Ἀπόλλωνι θεῷ Βοζηνῷ διὰ τὸ ἀναβεβη[κέ]νε με ἐπὶ τὸν χόρον (i. e. τὸ χωρίον) ἐν ῥυπαρῷ ἐπενδύτη, κολασθῆσα δὲ ἐξομολογησάμην κὲ ἀνέθηκα εὐλογίαν ὅτι ἐγενόμην ὁλό[κλ]ηρος. The epithet Bozenos is derived from a locality Bozis or Boza. The god who was worshipped there is here called Apollo, but appears on coins of Hierapolis as ΖΕΥC · ΒΟΣΙΟC. The form of this inscription is so exactly that of our *exemplaria*, that it may be ranked along with them. The sacredness of the village beside the *hieron* is here strongly brought out.

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Philol.* XVII 139: his other suggestions seem unacceptable: ἀγνός, to which he objects, is defended by no. 41. He prefers ἅγιος, ἀνάγιος to ἀγνός, but the latter is the technical term. In this base Greek I should not (as he does) look for rare Hesychian forms, but only for bad spelling and worse grammar. Phrygian *patois* loved middle aorists (see my papers in *Zft. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.* 1887, *Philologus* 1888 p. 755), and used a dative ending in -ν (see the former paper).

<sup>2</sup> Conze understands χορόν and ἐξομολόγησα μὴν, but the Phrygians, who used τύχοιτο and περιπέσοιτο in the middle voice, were not likely to use an active aorist from ἐξομολογέομαι. The stone is said to have come from Koula, but it was purchased at Smyrna by the German consul-general; and it is very likely to have been carried by a Greek travelling-agent to Koula, as one of the great trading-centres, and thence to Smyrna.



The name Bozis or Boza is noteworthy; comparing Attalos-Ottalos, Atreus-Otreus, Tattas-Tottes, Anas-Onnes, Kadauas-Kadouas, Vavas-Vovas, Marsyas-Morsynos (p. 145) we find that Bozis is the exact equivalent to Bazis, the name of the god's estate at Tyana, used also as a personal name. As I have argued in a paper on *Pre-Hellenic Monuments of Cappadocia* p. 9 (see Maspero's *Recueil* XIV), Bazis is for Baghis (ghi becoming zi according to the rule stated by Fick in his examination of the Phrygian language, *Ehemal. Spracheinheit*), derived from bagha or bhaga (compare Skt. bhaga, Zend baga, God, and *Bayaîos*· *Ζεὺς Φρύγιος*· Hesychius). Bozis then was 'the estate of the god,' a name common to Tyana and to this Phrygian *hieron*. The Lydian city Bagis in the Katakekaumene evidently bears the same name. The form Bozis shows the European vocalization, and may be compared with the Slavonian *bogu*, God. We see in the examples given above of double vocalization a proof of the intermediate position of the Phrygian language between the European and the East-Arian branches.

We have thus found this highly-interesting name, denoting 'the property of the god,' at Tyana, in the Katakekaumene, and beside Dionysopolis. The first two might readily be attributed to Persian influence; for there were Persian colonists in the Katakekaumene (where the Persian term Anaitis became the usual name of the goddess) along the line of the Royal Road (p. 33 n), and Tyana was naturally a centre of Persian rule. But the form Bozis, with its European vocalization, takes us back to an older and a native origin. The name is Anatolian.

One further conjecture must be stated. If we suppose a strict Greek correspondent to the Zend bhaga and the Slavonian bogu, it would be Φόβα<sup>1</sup>. Now Phoba is the name applied to the whole district in the later Byzantine period; and we have seen that it is probably an ancient native name revived. Must we not see in Phoba the old name bhaga-boza? The Phrygian god outlived and replaced the intruding Greek names. These varieties of form indicate considerable varieties of dialect in Phrygia, due to intermixture of race. Both the European and the East-Arian vocalism occur in the country; and sometimes one system triumphs, sometimes the other. Thus the entire history of Phrygia turns on the long struggle with varying success between the European and the Oriental spirit. See p. 130.

53. (R. 1883, 1888). Orta-Keui. [Γνέιος? Ἀφιᾶς Θεοδότου εὐχαριστῶ Μητρὶ Λητῶ ὅτι ἐξ ἀδυνάτων δυνατὰ πνεῖ. κὲ κολαθὶς ΑΙΙΤΟΝΓΛΟΥΟΡΟ

<sup>1</sup> The usual, but unsatisfactory connexion of *bhaga* with φαγεῖν must be abandoned, if we are right.



• • N<sup>1</sup> Μητρὶ Λητῶ εὐχὴν. This remarkable inscription is illustrated by one found in the Katakekaumene, Ἀπολώνιος Δραλᾶς δυνατῇ θεῶ εὐχαριστῶ Λητῶ<sup>2</sup> (*Mous. Smyrn.* no. τκζ', wrongly). My first copy has ΑΙ·ΤΟΝ-ΓΛΥΟΡΟ; perhaps read [Λή]τῶν ἐ— or Λητῶ • • λύθρον (cp. λύτρον used in two similar inscriptions JHS 1889 p. 227).

The 'mighty goddess,' who makes impossibilities possible, is almost Semitic in character (see no. 43). The formula εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ in votive dedications or thank-offerings is probably of eastern, possibly Semitic, origin. It is found in Syria, where it was even retained by the Christians, e.g. in an inscription of Bostra, Wadd. 1917, cp. 2459. Examples of its use in Asia Minor are quoted in Ch. III § 3.

54 (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 20). Badinlar. Ἀσκληᾶ[ς δις καὶ Ἀπολλώ]-νιος Ἀ[πολλοδότου] ἱερὸς ἀν[εστήσαμεν] ὑπὲρ Ἀπό[λλωνος θεοῦ]ναν τρά[πεζαν εὐξά]μενοι Ἀπό[λλωνι κτλ].

As the stone is so much broken the restoration is doubtful. But the inscription certainly refers to the providing of a table to the god. This rite is known in the Anatolian cultus. In the long inscription of the Lycian slave Xanthos already referred to it is provided that the person who furnishes a table for the god may take the half (of the garniture)<sup>3</sup>. This was perhaps done as an atonement, in which case this inscription would be similar in character to the preceding. That two persons who were not brothers are concerned in this case is shown by (1) ἱερός contrasted with εὐξάμενοι, (2) the two cannot both be sons of A[pollodotos], for that would require οἱ Ἀπολλοδότου.

55. (R. 1888). Badinlar. [ὁ δεῖνα Ἀπόλ]λωνι Λ[αιρβ]ην[ῶ • •]η[• • • •] θεῷ ὑ[ψίστῳ]. On the epithet see Ch. II § 1.

56. (R. 1888). Orta-Keui. Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλωνίου. ὁ ἱερεὺς Δεῖ Νω-νουλεῖ εὐχὴν. Apollonius is probably the hereditary priest of Lairbenos. With the epithet compare Διὸς Νινευδίου at Aphrodisias BCH 1885 p. 79. It is probable that the two epithets are connected. Ninoe was the old name of the city, and Zeus Νινεύδιος was the god of the old city (so Zeus Kelaineus was worshipped at Apameia); the termination -διος being adjectival as in Sebadios-Σαβάζιος (p. 77). Nonouleus is an adjective from a place-name Nonoula, i. e. Nonou-la (cp. Ἀττα-λο-ς, and

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether there was a gap between O and N.

<sup>2</sup> LW 1917 Ἰωάννης Σεουήρου . . . εὐχαριστῶν τῷ θεῷ μου . . . ἔκτισα κ.τ.λ.

<sup>3</sup> Foucart *Assoc. Relig.* p. 220 εἰ δέ τις τράπεζαν πληρῶι τῷ θεῷ, λαμβανέτω τὸ

ἥμισυ. Compare also the Commagenian inscription on the monument of Antiochus on the top of the Nemrud-Dagh III b 24 τραπέζας μὲν ἱερὰς πρεπούσης θεοῖνης γε[μίξ]ων.



many others): the vocalism in Nineu-, Nonou-, varies like Siblia, Soublaion (Ch. VI).

The form Δεῖ for Διῖ occasionally occurs in rude Phrygian inscriptions, e. g. at Petara.

57. (R. 1888). Badinlar. Ἡρακλίδης Πανφίλου Διεὶ ΓΩΨΕΟΥ ἐὺξάμενος ἀνέθηκα. This inscription is very rudely scratched on the stone, and it seems probable that the epithet was intended to be Ὀγοσῶ or Ὀγωσοῦ, equivalent to Poseidon Ὀσογῶ at Mylasa in Caria. *Addend.* 32.

58. (R. 1887: Hogarth no. 35). Orta-Keui. [ἡ δεῖνα Διῖ Σω]τῆρι [εὺξά]μένη [τὴν στήλ]ην ἀνέ[θηκεν]. There seems not to be room for Ἀσκληπιῶ σωτῆρι (no. 30). Zeus Soter occurs at Motella, no. 61.

59. (R. 1883)<sup>1</sup>. ἔτους σί' (125-6 A. D.). Ἀπολώνιος Φιλομούσου Μοτελληνὸς κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τῆς θεᾶς ὑπὲρ [σωτηρίας κτλ?].

60. (R. 1887<sup>2</sup> and Sterrett 1883). Medele. Αὐρ. Εἰδομενεὺς τετράκεις Μοτελληνὸς συνσπούδασεν τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφιδεῖ ἔτους τκα' (A. D. 237), μηνὸς βί', ηί', Αὐρ. Θε[ο]φιλιανῇ Γλυκε[ρ]ῆς φύσει δὲ Τατιανοῦ Κιαλλβοῦ Μο(τελληνοῦ) τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρ[ὶ κτλ].

Eidomeneus, son, grandson, and great-grandson of Eidomeneus, was apparently the uncle of the deceased husband of Theophiliane: ἀδελφιδεῖ seems to be used as from a nom. ἀδελφιδῆς. The names of epic heroes, Idomeneus, Laomedon, &c., were popular, nos. 189 and 34. Eidomeneus co-operated in erecting the tomb: cp. σπουδασάντων καὶ τῶν συμβιωτῶν καὶ λβ' ἄλλων at Apameia. Theophiliane had been adopted by a woman Glykere. Kialbos is a remarkable name.

61. (R. 1887). Medele. ἀγαθὴ τύχη· Διῖ Σωτῆρι καὶ Θεοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Μοτελληνῶν Ἀτταλος Ἀττάλου Ζήνωνος τὴν ἐξέδραν καὶ τὴν στοῦαν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀποκαθέστησεν· ἔτους σκα', μηνὸς Ὑπερβερταίου δεκάτῃ (137 A. D.). The gods-emperors must be Hadrian and Ceionius Commodus (Verus Caesar): the latter died Jan. 138. The form στοῦαν for στοιάν, i. e. στοφιάν, is remarkable.

62. (R. 1888). Develar. ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καγνεττέων ἐτίμησεν Εὐτύχην Ἰόλλου φιλοκαίσαρα φιλόπατριν.

63. (R. 1883, 1887: Hogarth no. 22). Develar. [τὸ] ἡρώον καὶ ὁ π[ερὶ α]ὐτὸν τόπος Ἀ[ρτέ]μωνος Διομήδο[υς το]ῦ Ἀρτέμωνος, συ[γχώ]ρησιν λαβὼν

<sup>1</sup> Now at a mosque in Demirji-Keui; it has probably been carried thither.

<sup>2</sup> In 1883 I was able to use an impression made by Sterrett.



τοῦ [τόπο]ν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου [Καγυ]επτεύος · ἐν ᾧ κηδεύσετε δὲ ὁ Ἀρτέμων κα[ὶ ἡ γυν]ὴ αὐτοῦ Χρυσόπ[ολι]ς<sup>1</sup> · ἐτέρῳ δὲ μηδενὶ ἐ[ξέσ]ται παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμ[ένα]· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικηδεύσει[ι, θ]ήσει τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ τα[μ]ίῳ δραχμὰς βφ'· τούτου τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέθη ἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα. The grammar, λαβών for λαβόντος, is not good. The strange name Kagyetta is assured by these two inscriptions: -etta occurs as an ending in many Anatolian names, and the stem Καγυ is analogous to Καδυ (Kadyanda, Κάδοφοι, Kadys, &c.). The name Iollas is remarkably common in this district, nos. 30, 31. Kagyetta must have been situated at Develar.

64. (R. 1887: see Hogarth p. 399). Kabalar: copied after sunset in a courtyard, amid strenuous opposition and threats of violence (see JHS 1887 p. 399). The stone is of the same class as nos. 30, 31, but much ruder, and the letters coarser. 1. [ἡ Σαλουδέων κ]αὶ Μηλοκωμητῶν φράτρα ἀνέθηκεν. 2. [Ἀπολ]λωνίδην Μαγάδος<sup>2</sup> ἡγεμόνες Μηλοκωμητ[ῶν ἐτίμησα]ν ΣαρβαλαεΙΤΗΝ Σαλουδέα Νικαίου Ἀ[ρι]στιδου. 3. [ἐ]πιμελησαμένου Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου το[ῦ ἱερέως?] Μηλ[ο]κωμήτου· Κα[ . . . . ]ν Σαλουδέ[ω]ν · Σαλουδεῖς · Σαλουδεῖς. 4. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀπολλωνίδου Μηλοκωμή[της]. Ἀτταλίων Ἀρείδου Μηλοκωμήτης. Μηνόφιλος Μηνοφίλου. Πες[·]νεστης<sup>3</sup> δ' Μηλοκωμήτης. Ἀπελλίδης ΣαρβαλαεΙ Σαλουδεύς. Φύρανδρος Φυ[ράνδ]ρου Σαλου[δεύς]. 5. Ἀπολ]λωνίδης [Δο]υλιχίων [Σαλο]υδεύς. Ἀπολλών[ιος] Μακρυ Παπαδε[·] Δίων<sup>4</sup> Σαλουδεύς. Τρώιλος Γαίου Σαλουδεύς. I have improved the text a little since I first published it; but the irregularity and rudeness of the letters leave many uncertainties. There is a relief representing Cybele sitting between her lions; and numerous portraits of the persons are carved over the stone. The village-names Melokome and Salouda are the chief gains from this text. The association of the two neighbouring villages in a religious union (φράτρα) is also an interesting point. Salouda was probably at Kabalar, and Melokome near it. If the name did not occur so frequently, we should be inclined to conjecture Menokome for Melokome in this badly-engraved text, copied hurriedly. Does ἀνέθηκεν or ἐτίμησαν govern Ἀπολλωνίδην?

65. (R. 1883). Kabalar. Μητρὶ Σαλσαλουδηνῇ Τίτος Φλάβιος Ἐπαφρόδειτος εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκα. The goddess here mentioned is the one represented in the relief on the preceding. It is possible that the first syllable of the ethnic is an accidental dittography (giving the name Salouda);

<sup>1</sup> The name occurs also in CIG 6816.

<sup>2</sup> Μασᾶδος (cp. no. 190) was not on the stone.

<sup>3</sup> Or Πες[·]νεστης: it is doubtful

whether this is a new person or an epithet.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps there is a dittography:

Παπαδιων (cutting out δε[ι]).



but more probably there was a reduplicated form Salsalouda: near Tyana there seems to be a place Pasa or Paspasa, and at Ephesos the tribe Bennioi or Bembineis occurs (derived from Zeus Benneus *Hist. Geogr.* 144, 451)<sup>1</sup>. T. Flavius Epaphroditus was probably a freedman of the emperor Titus. It is remarkable how many probable freedmen occur, see no. 66.

66. (R. 1888). In the Maeander cañon below Medele. 'Ρουφίων Κλ. Κλήμεντος δοῦλος εὐχήν. [Ti.] Claudius Clemens was probably a freedman of Claudius; compare in no. 65 T. Flavius Epaphroditus, and no. 32, T. Flavius Agathemerus and (Ti.?) Claudius Hermogenes. Were these agents of the *fiscus*, looking after the imperial interests in the district?

66 *bis*. (R. 1888). Ἐτους σλς μηνὸς Δείου ζ' (i.e. A.D. 151). Ἀμμία Μηνοφίλου Ἀμμία Παπίου Δημητρίου Παπίου θυγατρὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐποίησεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μνήμης χάριν. This inscription is published by Hogarth no. 27 after the copy of Sterrett 1883, but with the omission of Δημητρίου Παπίου (due to the double occurrence of the latter name). In Hogarth no. 26 Ammia, daughter of Bryôn, erects the tomb.

67. (R. 1883). Khanchallar. Μελτίνη καὶ Γλύκων καὶ Ἐλεύθερος Μενάνδρῳ πατρὶ γλυκυτάτῳ μνείας χάριν· εἰ δέ τις τὴν στήλην καθελεῖ ἢ μανίσει, ἕξει τοὺς θεοὺς ἐναντίους. The verb *μανίζειν* seems to occur only here. The adj. *μανός* (given as Attic for *ἀραιός*) is not rare.

## APPENDIX II.

### BISHOPS OF DIONYSOPOLIS AND ANASTASIOPOLIS, MOTELLA AND MOSSYNA.

#### 1. Dionysopolis, Anastasiopolis and Phoba.

Chariton Διονυσουπόλεως *Conc. Chalced.* 451.

Alexander civitatis Dionysii *Conc.* V 553.

Basiliscus Διονυσουπόλεως *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787.

Stephanus Ἀναστασιουπόλεως 518.

<sup>1</sup> There was a Thraco-Phrygian word *benna* 'waggon.' Zeus Benneus among the Prepenisseis was the god who stands on the car, like Jupiter Stator according to Benfey. I see no reason to ac-

cept Mr. Hicks's proposed alterations on the text of Stephanus *s.v.* Βέννα (Ephesos p. 69). On the derivation of Salouda see p. 169 n. Compare also Pouza and Pepouza.



158 IV. MOSSYNA, MOTELLA, DIONYSOPOLIS, ETC.

Hieron Anastasiopolitanorum *Conc.* V 553.

Marianus Ἀναστασιουπόλεως *Conc. Phot.* 879 probably is of Galatia Prima.

Eustratius Φόβου 879 was probably bishop of the joint diocese.

2. Motella.

Michael, mentioned in an inscr. CB no. 13 dated 556.

Cyriacus, mentioned in an inscr. Hogarth no. 28, dated perhaps 667.

Eudoxius πρεσβύτερος μοναχὸς καὶ τοποτηρητὴς τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ Μετελλουπόλεως *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787.

Michael Μετελλουπόλεως 869 and 879.

3. Mossyna.

Gennadius Μοσύνων 451.

Joannes Μοσυνέων πόλεως 692.

Theophylactus Μοσύνων 787.

Euthymius Mosynorum 869.

Constantinus Μοσύνων 879<sup>1</sup>.

Thomas μοναχὸς Μοσύνων is mentioned in a list of monks at *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787.

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<sup>1</sup> Paul and Joannes of Mosynopolis are Thracian bishops.



## CHAPTER V

### THE PHRYGIAN CITIES OF THE LOWER MAEANDER VALLEY AND THE CARIAN AND LYDIAN FRONTIERS

§ 1. The Natural Features p. 159. § 2. The Roads p. 160. § 3. The Maeander Bridges p. 162. § 4. Attouda p. 165. § 5. Men Karou p. 167. § 6. Attes and Meter Adrastos p. 169. § 7. Karoura p. 170. § 8. Trapezopolis p. 171. § 9. Hydrela p. 172. § 10. Hyelion and Leimmokheir p. 175. § 11. Daldis p. 177. § 12. Sala and Tralla p. 179.

Appendices: I. Inscriptions of Attouda and Trapezopolis p. 181. II. The Phrygo-Carian Frontier. (1) Kidramos p. 184. (2) Antiocheia ad Maeandrum p. 185. (3) Tantalos p. 185. (4) Hyllarima p. 186. (5) Harmala p. 186. (6) Louma and Pentacheir p. 187. (7) Monasteries p. 187. (8) Gordiou-Teichos p. 187. (9) Aphrodisias p. 187. (10) Herakleia Salbake p. 189. (11) Tabai, Apollonia-Salbake, Sebastopolis p. 191. III. The Lydo-Phrygian Frontier. (1) Brioula p. 191. (2) Tripolis p. 192. (3) Apollonos-Hieron and Aetos p. 194. (4) Mysomakedones p. 195. (5) Kallataba p. 199. (6) Philadelphiea-Neocæsareia p. 201. IV. The Sullan Era p. 201. V. Hierocles's Lydian List p. 205. VI. Bishops of Attouda and Trapezopolis p. 207.

§ 1. THE COUNTRY. Before finishing the Lycos valley proper, it is best to discuss that part of the Maeander valley which was sometimes considered to be a part of Phrygia. The topography of this district still presents some difficult problems, on which scholars are divided and controversy keen. Recent exploration<sup>1</sup> has neglected this readily accessible and frequently visited district, and gone to more remote parts of the country, and thus some obscurity still exists about the sites of Attouda, Trapezopolis, Kidramos, Karoura, and the temple of Men Karou. We shall take the view to which the balance of evidence inclines, leaving several points for future exploration to solve.

The hilly alluvial tracts of country on which the first three of these

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<sup>1</sup> The recent expedition of Drs. Kubitschek and Reichel is a welcome exception. The results, as briefly indicated in *Wiener Akad. Anzeiger* 16 Nov. 1893, promise to be of the highest importance. A. H. Smith and I made a hasty exploration in two days from Aphro-

disias to Denizli in 1884. MM. Radet and Clerc travelled from Aphrodisias to Serai-Keui, if I gather their route rightly from the inscriptions which they have published; and an English party made the same excursion last century.



towns were situated has been described in Ch. I. Many large and prosperous villages (as prosperity goes in modern Turkey) are situated on these hills. The governing centre is Kadi Keui, which is the seat of a *mudur* and a manufacturing centre. Another important village further west is Assar; while Hadji-Ibrahim, Mollah-Mehmet, Jebi-Dere, Sarai, &c. (which appear only on Kiepert's latest map), lie below Salbakos east of Kadi Keui. In the soft alluvial soil of this sloping district, every little torrent that rushes northwards down the side of Salbakos has cut for itself a deep cañon. These cañons greatly impede intercourse, for their sides are almost perpendicular, and, in crossing the country from east to west, one has to make a series of sharp descents and ascents. The district is thus cut off from the main stream of intercourse up and down the valley. Modern travellers have passed and repassed, without becoming aware of its importance, as Strabo evidently did before them.

In describing the district we shall begin by attempting to determine with minute precision the line of the two great roads that traversed it, the one connecting inner Phrygia with Sardis and the Hermos valley, the other connecting it with the Aegean harbours (Miletos in the older period, Ephesos in the Roman time).

§ 2. THE ROADS. It is clear from the account of Cyrus's march given by Xenophon *Anab.* I 2 that the ancient road from Sardis to Colossai crossed the Maeander above the Lycos-junction, and went straight along the north side of the Lycos valley until it reached Colossai. This is proved by the distances, 22 parasangs from Sardis to the Maeander, and 8 from the Maeander to Colossai<sup>1</sup>. This road must have been of great importance in primitive time, connecting the great city of Sardis with the interior; and it was in all probability older than the road from Colossai to the mouth of the Maeander.

<sup>1</sup> In comparing parasangs with Roman miles, the most certain stretch in the state of the modern maps is from Colossai to Kelainai (where we have the railway survey to depend on). Xenophon states the distance as 20 parasangs; and, as accurately as I can measure, the road-line is about 59 Roman miles. The distance from Sardis to the Maeander, on the course which we assign to the road, is about 68 to 70 miles, and from the Maeander to Colossai about 25 to 27 (measuring on Kiepert's new, large scale map). This gives about 3 Roman miles to the

parasang, if we allow for Xenophon's estimates being rounded a little. The only other possible path is the one preferred by M. Radet (pp. 85, 164) crossing the Maeander beside Serai-Keui; in which case the distance is about 76 or 77 Roman miles from Sardis to the Maeander, and only 23 or 24 from the Maeander to the Colossai. These numbers are so inconsistent with Xenophon's 22 and 8 parasangs, that we are bound to infer that Cyrus marched along the straight and natural and easy route as stated in our text.



The latter attained importance through the trade between Phrygia and the Greeks of Miletos, and was flourishing at the middle of the sixth century, when the bad Greek of the Phrygian traders furnished a jest to Hipponax<sup>1</sup>. The road from Colossai to Sardis became still more important when the Mermnad kings extended their power over Phrygia: at that time it must have been one of the greatest routes in Asia Minor. Boundaries and probably distances were marked by inscribed stones on it (Herod. VII 31). The road from Colossai to the coast forked from the great road at a point between Colossai and the Maeander, somewhere in the territory of Hierapolis-Kydrara<sup>2</sup>, and thereafter the road to Sardis crossed the Maeander, while that to Miletos went by the temple of Men Karou and Karoura, keeping the south bank of the Maeander all the way to Miletos. The channel of the Lycos, though deep, is so narrow, that even a rude people could throw a bridge of logs over it. The Maeander needs a bridge of 200 feet or more in length, if it is crossed on the direct line, but by a very slight detour to the north fords practicable throughout great part of the year might be found<sup>3</sup>.

This arrangement of the roads is natural and convenient; it avoids crossing the Maeander on one of the two roads, and at the same time gives the shortest line for both roads; and there can be no doubt that it continued down to the foundation of Laodiceia. When that city was founded, the road down the Maeander valley diverged from the other at Colossai and kept the south bank of the Lycos and Maeander all the way to Antiocheia<sup>4</sup>. We now see why the Graeco-Roman road from Ephesos to the East crossed the Maeander at Antiocheia, instead of keeping to the north bank of that river and afterwards the north bank of the Lycos: the latter path appears to us to be the obvious and the best route, yet it was neglected throughout ancient

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοὺς σολοίκους, ἣν λάβωσι, περνᾶσιν, Φρύγας μὲν ἐς Μίλητον ἀλφιτεύουσας *fragm.* 36. It is noteworthy that it is the Phrygians who go down to Miletos (possibly the Milesians may also have gone up to Phrygia; but, as a rule, the natives seem to have maintained the caravan trade and the Greeks the maritime).

<sup>2</sup> On Kydrara see § 9.

<sup>3</sup> The native view is and was that the Maeander is unfordable from near Tripolis downwards, though Crusaders did not find it so, Ch. I § 9. There was

a bridge between Tripolis and the Lycos junction in older time, Nicet. p. 252 and § 3. The Lycos though deep in its lower stretch caused no difficulty, and its crossings are never mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> Hamilton was misled by the distant view from the road on the opposite bank when he said, I 527, 'On the south side of the Maeander the steep and almost barren hills rise directly from the water's edge, so that the ancient road from Ephesos to Colossai must, after leaving Antioch, have passed along the right or northern bank of the river.'



time. The reason is plain when we observe that at each stage in the history of the roads the new system retained as much as possible of the old. In the earliest times the great cities and stations grew up on the southern bank of the river. When Ephesos took the place of Miletos as the seaport for the Maeander valley, the traffic was habituated to the southern bank; and it was much easier to cross the Maeander at Antiocheia than to disturb a fixed habit. The point of crossing was determined by the fact that trade with the valleys of Aphrodisias and even of Tabai came down the Morsynos, and naturally passed the Maeander above its junction with that river. One ferry or bridge carried both lines of traffic; and the city of Antiocheia was planted to command this important point.

§ 3. THE MAEANDER BRIDGES. The position of a bridge close to Antiocheia is assured by Strabo (p. 630) and by the coins of the city, on which it is a common type, being represented in one case with six arches. The bridge seems not to have been in existence in B.C. 189, for C. Manlius threw a bridge over the Maeander lower down, and had there been a bridge ready a little further up, he would naturally have used it, as he actually marched up to Antiocheia. It is probable that the road was not improved by the building of a bridge till the Romans came into possession of Asia in 133 B.C. Perhaps Manius Aquillius constructed it as part of his great system of Asian roads.

This bridge had ceased to exist in A.D. 1148. Possibly it was destroyed in 1147 or 1148 in order to impede the march either of the German Crusaders under Bishop Otho or of the French under Louis VII, both of whom seem to have marched by Ephesos and Laodiceia. Nicetas p. 90 describes the passage of the river by Conrad (who took the route by Philadelphieia, and if he had not turned back would have crossed near Tripolis); but he has evidently made a mistake, and his description really applies to the crossing effected by Louis in 1148<sup>1</sup>. The Crusaders found neither bridge nor boats; and

<sup>1</sup> Wilken *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge* is the only authority whom I have besides the Byzantine historians. Cinnamus p. 85 tells that Conrad turned back from Philadelphieia. [Since this chapter was written I read the account of Louis's march in William of Tyre and Odo de Deuil (Migne, vols. 201 and 185) in Oxford May 1894, and thereafter I procured Tomaschek's admirable *Beitr. z.*

*gesch. Topogr. Kleinas.* These do not necessitate any change, though if space permitted they would enable me to add much. Louis left Ephesos Dec. 29, reached Maeander 30 evening, marched up the river 31, crossed Jan. 1 midday, on third day reached Laodiceia, left Laodiceia midday Jan. 6, Jan. 7 at midday reached foot of steep ascent and wished to halt.]



the Maeander, which at that point is considered unfordable at all seasons of the year, was swoln high when Louis approached it. The Turks were drawn up on the south bank to dispute the passage; but the French crossed the deep stream in the face of the enemy and drove them before them. This gallant action shows that the bridge had been destroyed. It appears that Louis must have crossed the river rather lower down than the site of the Roman bridge<sup>1</sup>; the expression of Nicetas p. 90 l. 10 almost suggests that the Crusaders had come expecting an easy crossing; but the treacherous Greek guides misled them, and took them to a difficult part of the river.

After the destruction of the old Roman bridge, a new one seems to have been built, after the time of Nicetas<sup>2</sup>, some distance further up the river. Its remains may still be seen by the traveller, if he looks out from the window of his railway carriage, immediately after leaving Ortakche on his journey eastwards. Ortakche lies in the narrow pass through which the Maeander flows between M. Messogis and the Tchibuk-Dagh<sup>3</sup>. The ruins of the bridge project from the north bank into the stream: it was built of a mass of small round stones embedded in mortar, with a facing of squared stones. From the south end of the bridge a mole or dam leads direct south to the edge of the hills: it was evidently intended to carry the road from the bridge across the low muddy plain that fringes the river to the skirts of the hills a quarter of a mile distant. This bridge can hardly be the Roman bridge, as Chandler thought<sup>4</sup>, first because the Roman bridge was lower down the river, and secondly because it is represented on coins with six arches<sup>5</sup>, whereas the Ortakche bridge spans the river with a single arch, with a small one at each side. Probably the

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<sup>1</sup> The march of about 236 Roman miles from Ephesos to Attalia occupied 15 days (Wilken III p. 187), giving a day's march of 16 miles. It seems clear that the crossing was effected 4 days from Ephesos and 3 from Laodiceia (Wilken p. 180). Antioch is only about 35 or 36 miles from Laodiceia, therefore the crossing must have taken place some miles west of Antioch. Moreover the defeated Turks took refuge in Antioch, where they were sheltered by the Byzantine garrison; and they would naturally flee eastwards towards their own land, not westwards towards the coast and the

purely Greek country.

<sup>2</sup> His history ends 1206; and he died after 1210.

<sup>3</sup> The Café (Kahvé) mentioned by Hamilton, Chandler, and other travellers is beside Ortakche, between it and the river, near the railway line. See Ch. I § 1. Is Ortakche the Italian Ortaggi (connected by popular Turkish etymology with Orta)?

<sup>4</sup> Ch. 65 p. 221.

<sup>5</sup> The exact number is not necessarily preserved on the coins; but we may safely conclude that the bridge was built with more than three arches, as six occur on the coins.



bridge at Ortakche is an early Turkish bridge, built soon after the country came into the hands of the Seljuks (see Ch. I).

The Turkish bridge was in its turn destroyed, probably by a flood; and we may date from this event the growth of the modern route (which keeps along the north bank of the Maeander) and the decay of the towns on the south bank. There was still maintained a ferry two miles below the ruined Turkish bridge; but any little camel traffic too heavy for the ferry-boat must have gone by the north side of the Maeander and the Lycos. At a later date a wooden bridge was thrown over the Maeander four miles below the Lycos junction to facilitate the connexion<sup>1</sup> with the important city of Denizli (the seat of a Pasha); and thus Serai-Keui, the only important town on the south bank of the Maeander in this region, has grown up during the present century<sup>2</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> For long the habit lasted that small light parties crossed by the ferry below the broken bridge, though heavier trade went up to the Denizli bridge. Chandler in 1765 and Arundel in 1828 used the ferry. Hamilton used the bridge in 1836. But though Chandler saw no village at Serai-Keui (he speaks only of nomad encampments in the plain), Arundel found a poor village and a khan there (with Turkish and a few Greek houses); and a khan implies a road and traffic. But this village was produced by the road and the new bridge. We may understand that the wooden bridge was built in the middle of last century, and Serai-Keui grew after that date. As is mentioned below, the weekly market of the district was transferred to Serai-Keui only about 40 years ago, having previously been at the site of Men Karou's *hieron*.

<sup>2</sup> The history of the roads, though it may perhaps seem too slight and simple to require such minute description, has been given here at length, because M. Radet (a young scholar who has done much excellent work and made many discoveries in Asia Minor) has gone against it. Misled by the fact that Serai-Keui is now the great centre, and either unaware or regardless of the evidence published years ago, that it is

of purely recent growth, he has framed a theory of the roads in the Lycos valley, which appears to me to violate sound reasoning in the general scheme and in many details. He identifies Karoura and Kydrara, he places Karoura at Serai-Keui six miles from the nearest hot springs and two miles from the Maeander (though the chief facts recorded about Karoura are that there were hot springs in it and in the bed of the Maeander on whose banks it stood), and he makes the important road from Colossai to Sardis take a detour of fully five miles by Serai-Keui. We have already shown that Cyrus did not take this route; and, in a word, M. Radet's scheme contradicts most of the results in this chapter, several of which seem to me to be fixed so precisely by the evidence that they form the best starting-points for any details of the ancient measurements. M. Radet's scheme was published BCH 1891 p. 375 f, and assumed as proved in his *Lydie et le Monde Grec* (Paris 1892) p. 34 f. In the latter place he tacitly makes a slight concession to my criticism by admitting the route along the north Lycos bank as an 'indifferent' alternative. He states in very strong terms that my views are often guided by prejudice against his own discoveries (*Lydie* pp. 323, 324), and rejects my



three miles south-east of the bridge on the road to Denizli. Another wooden bridge has for a long time spanned the Maeander about two miles above the Lycos junction. It carries the traffic that goes north of the Lycos. But the neglect of agriculture has allowed great marshes to form on the north side of the Lycos; and these necessitate so long a detour that the little trade that came down the valley has long kept the south side above Serai-Keui and there crossed to the north bank of the Maeander. Since the railways were built, this trade has increased enormously, and Serai-Keui has grown great during the last thirty or forty years.

§ 4. ATTOUDA. The modern village Assar seems to be close to an ancient site; and the inscriptions found there oblige us to identify it as Attouda<sup>1</sup>. But there is room for another city, situated further east near Kadi Keui, and corresponding to it (though perhaps not on the actual site), viz. Trapezopolis; and we shall find it necessary to conjecture that there was a third city, Kidramos, west of Assar. These three divided the country bounded by Laodiceia on the east, Salbakos on the south, the Morsynos valley with the cities Aphrodisias, Gordiou-teichos and Antiocheia on the west, and the Maeander on the north. Across this country a ridge projecting from Salbakos stretches far out to the north-west, narrowing the low valley of the Maeander, like a wall reaching down to the gate through which the river flows. This ridge, now called Tchibuk-Dagh<sup>2</sup>, is about 4,200 feet high where the road Attouda-Aphrodisias crossed it. There can hardly be any doubt that the Tchibuk-Dagh was the line of division between Byzantine Phrygia and Caria. Trapezopolis and Attouda, which were Phrygian in Byzantine time, lay east of it, and Kidramos, which was Carian, must be looked for on the west. But in Roman time, the whole of this district, west of the Laodicean frontier, seems to have been included in Caria, i. e. in the *conventus* of Alabanda<sup>3</sup>.

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criticism on this point absolutely, *ib.* p. 324. See pp. 85, 160.

<sup>1</sup> CIG 3950 and those which are published by M. Clerc BCH 1887 p. 349, and by M. Radet BCH 1890 p. 238. The name Ipsili-Hissar given in CIG and the older travellers is unknown in the country, and the first part is probably an addition made by a Greek servant. This district was almost purely Turkish till the railway was made; but since then Greeks are steadily occupying

it. Hissar and Assar seem to be dialectic varieties. I have found it impossible to establish any difference between them.

<sup>2</sup> The name Tchibuk (long-stemmed pipe) suits the long ridge with the mass of M. Salbakos at the end.

<sup>3</sup> Attouda does not occur in Ptolemy; but in all probability Itoana, which he places in Caria next to Trapezopolis, should be corrected to Attouda, as has been remarked by almost every writer on the subject.



Attouda is one of the few cities of Phrygia of which silver coins are known. They belong, according to Mr. Head, to the pre-Roman period, probably the Pergamenian domination 190-133 B.C. The name on these coins is spelt Attoudda.

Coins and inscriptions connect Attouda with Trapezopolis, Laodiceia, Kidramos, and above all Aphrodisias. With the first three it forms, according to M. Imhoof-Blumer, a numismatic group, marked by the use of *διά* on coins; and to his list two Carian cities must be added <sup>1</sup>.

ΑΤΤΟΥΔΑ · ΔΙΑ · ΦΛΑΒΙΑΣ · ΙΕΡΙΑΣ (date uncertain).

ΔΙΑ · Κ[ΑΡΜΙΝΙ]ΟΥ · ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟΥ · ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ · ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ  
(Aurelius and Verus).

ΔΙΑ · ΠΟ · ΛΙ(κιννίου) · ΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΥ · and ΒΟΥΛΗ · ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟ-  
ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ (date uncertain).

ΔΙΑ · [ΠΑΠΙΟΥ] · ΚΑΛΛΙΠΠΟΥ · and ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ (prob.  
120-170).

ΔΙΑ · ΟΡΘΡΙΟΥ · ΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ · ΤΑΒΗΝΩΝ (Domitian).

ΔΙΑ · ΠΑΝΦΙΛΟΥ · ΚΑΙ · Π[ΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ] · ΚΙΔΡΑΜΗΝΩΝ (Hadrian)<sup>2</sup>.

It is united with Trapezopolis on another coin in which Cybele, with crown and veil, stands laying her hands on two lions; on each side of her stands a female figure with turreted head, one ΑΤΤΟΥΔΑ, the other ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΙΣ. This coin indicates more than a mere alliance; it marks the two cities as conterminous, and united in the worship of the same goddess, whose name, as we learn from inscriptions, was *Μήτηρ Ἀδράστος*.

The connexion of Attouda with Aphrodisias was closer than with any other city. The same persons appear on the records of both cities (cp. App. II § 9); the same names (e.g. Adrastos, Polychronios, Peritus &c.) and the same peculiar epigraphic formulae (see no. 70) are characteristic of both. Now commercially and geographically the natural relations of Attouda are with Laodiceia; and the numismatic facts just stated show that such a connexion existed <sup>3</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> *Numism. Zft.* 1884 p. 272. Mr. Head informs me by letter that Apollonia-Salbake and Tabai (see App. II) also use *διά* on coins. This strengthens our conclusion that Attouda is more closely connected with the Carian cities than with the Phrygian.

<sup>2</sup> M. Imhoof-Blumer accepts my proposed completion of this legend, and interprets as above his published reading of the coin of Trapezopolis ΠΟΛΙ.

Laodicean coins with *διά* p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> While, in the point just quoted, the coins of Laodiceia agree with those of Attouda, there is a general difference between them. Laodicean coins are Phrygian in type; but, as Mr. Head writes to me, 'the coins of Attouda and Trapezopolis resemble one another in style, fabric, and sometimes even in type, and are more like the Carian than the Phrygian issues; if we had only



close union with Aphrodisias can be explained only through frequent intercourse arising from their belonging to one *conventus*. Thus we again come to our former conclusion (p. 37) that Attouda was in the Carian *conventus*; originally it must have been in the *conventus* of Alabanda, but probably this great district was subdivided in the second century, so that Aphrodisias became the administrative centre for north-eastern Caria.

§ 5. MEN KAROU. Of the history, the administration, and the population of Attouda nothing is known, except what can be gathered from its religion. The *hieron*, where the god Men Karou had his seat, was in or on the borders of its territory (p. 52), for its coins bear the legend ΜΗΝ · ΚΑΡΟΥ beside a bust of the god rising from a crescent; and other types connected with the same cultus show Men on horseback (often wrongly called an Amazon) and the grecized forms Bacchus, Apollo, Zeus, Asklepios &c., various identifications of the native deity according to different sides of his character. Fortunately Strabo helps us to localize this temple exactly. Travelling along the great Highway from Laodiceia to the west, he passed in succession the temple of Men and the village Karoura<sup>1</sup>, observing as he passed that the Kapros flowed directly into the Maeander (not into the Lycos), but not noticing Attouda or Trapezopolis, which lay on the hills out of sight. Sanctuaries like that of Men Karou always attracted population, and villages arose round them (p. 132), which generally continued to be of the old Anatolian type, but sometimes became regular cities, and in that case were often named Hieropolis. Attouda being in a situation so remote, it is probable that the settlement round the hieron of Men Karou was almost or quite as important a centre of the state Attouda under the Roman Empire as the actual *polis*. Such a centre on the great Highway should be easily found. As we travel along the Highway, we come about twelve miles from Laodiceia to Serai-Keui. But

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coins to guide us, both Attouda and Trapezopolis would go to Caria, rather than to Phrygia.'

<sup>1</sup> That Strabo traversed this road, I feel quite certain. He had gone along it probably on his road to or from Nysa, where he attended the lectures of the great teacher, Aristodemos, p. 650. He describes with the vividness of personal knowledge exactly what can be seen on it; his description even shows to one who has seen the country that the ancient road was on the south bank of

the Maeander, not (as now) on the north bank, for a considerable distance west of Serai-Keui; and he has seen nothing in Phrygia off the highway and is vague, and sometimes even misleading, in describing what lies away from it. He had visited Hierapolis p. 630, on the same journey on which he travelled from Laodiceia to Karoura. His description of Apameia and its rivers is also evidently that of an eyewitness, and so probably his account of the Lycos.



Serai-Keui, though now the administrative centre, is of very recent growth; and the weekly bazaar of the district was held in a large open space between Haz Keui and Gereli Keui until about forty years ago, when it was transferred to Serai-Keui<sup>1</sup>. Such markets held away from the modern centres of life are always good evidence of ancient custom; in some cases they mark the site of an ancient city now deserted; in others they continue the ancient meeting-place of a people living in villages without a city-centre. Strabo (p. 341) gives an example of the former class: Aleision, a city mentioned by Homer, had ceased to exist, but a market called *Ἀλησιαῖον* was held near the site. *Kara Eyuk Bazar* is the ancient site, but *Adji Badem* is the government town, in the territory of Themisonion at Keretapa. *Kayadibi* is the Bazar and the ancient site, and *Satirlar* the government town: in the Hyrgalean Plain *Kai Bazar* is the seat of a weekly market for the district, but is otherwise absolutely deserted: the same is the case at Eriza with *Ishkian Bazar*, and among the Perminoundeis with *Kizil Kaya Bazar*<sup>2</sup>. See pp. 128, 254.

Hardly any ancient remains above the surface are visible at this site; but in a situation so exposed every stone is liable to be carried away for more recent buildings. Enough, however, remains in the neighbourhood to show that this was a considerable centre of ancient life. The site is about 6 Roman miles from Karoura and 13 from Laodiceia, which entirely justifies Strabo's account. It is probable that the name Gereli is a survival of the old word Karou, which has received a Turkish appearance by the termination *-li*<sup>3</sup>. Examples of such popular etymology are found in all countries where the language has changed. In the late Byzantine period, when the district was on the point of passing into Turkish possession, we find that Karia is mentioned by Nicetas, a native of the district (pp. 523, 655), as a *komopolis* or village-centre on the main Highway west of Colossai and east of Antioch; and we may confidently say that the village of Men Karou has preserved its name through the Byzantine Karia to the modern Gereli. The temple of Men, then, was situated near the western bank of the Kapros; and as that river was the boundary of Laodiceia, the temple was naturally closely connected with that city

<sup>1</sup> It is a most useful principle for ancient topography that a modern town generally exists in the neighbourhood of a Graeco-Roman town; but the site is usually changed.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 p. 341, ASP

p. 30, A. H. Smith in JHS 1887 p. 221. The name is completed as Perminoundeis by more recently discovered inscriptions *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Sivasli Ch. I § 13 for Σε-  
βαστή.



also (p. 37). Probably Laodiceia was founded in territory that originally was under the influence of this great sanctuary.

Attouda, as we have seen, was probably in Caria. It follows therefore that Men Karou is a deity settled on Carian soil, and it is natural to treat the title Karou as territorial in origin<sup>1</sup>. Men Karou is the Carian development of the old Phrygian deity worshipped in the Lycos valley, who became in the semi-Greek colony Zeus Laodikenos, and is known in the old Phrygian holy city Hierapolis as Lairbenos. It is, however, probable that Men was not the oldest name by which the god worshipped at Attouda was known to his worshippers; but merely a grecized form of the old Phrygian word Manes, which was a divine name or epithet (see Ch. IX § 5). The true old name remains in Attouda, 'the town of Attis'<sup>2</sup>.

§ 6. *ATTES AND METER ADRASTOS.* We take the view that Men and Attis are deities of similar character, probably derived from the same ultimate cultus, but differentiated by development in different surroundings. In the fact that the city where Men Karou is worshipped bears the name 'City of Attes,' we may fairly see a proof of the ultimate identity of these two deities. It is possible that careful observation may yet trace the line of development of each.

On the coins of Attouda Cybele is as characteristic a type as Men; the priesthood of Meter Adrastos is mentioned in an inscription (BCH 1887 p. 349); and games held in the city were called 'Ο[λύμ]πια 'Ηράκλεια 'Αδράστηα, i.e. games on the Olympian rules in honour of Herakles and Meter Adrastos<sup>3</sup>. The type of this goddess on coins is described in § 4. We naturally conjecture that Meter Adrastos and Men Karou are a pair of the common Anatolian type (Ch. III); but no evidence exists. The name Adrastos is old Phrygian. It occurs as the name of a Phrygian noble who took refuge with Croesus king of Lydia, and was purified by him from the crime of murder (Herod.

<sup>1</sup> The indeclinable termination -ou occurs in a few other cases, Men Tiamou in the Katakekaumene (Wadd. no. 668), Men Pharnakou in Pontus (Strab. p. 557), the personal name Tieiou at Metropolis of Phrygia.

<sup>2</sup> On the suffix -oudda, -ouda, &c., see commentary on no. 31. Attaia is formed by another suffix (*Hist. Geogr.* pp. 241, 368). With Attaia-Attouda, compare Sbida-Sibidounda, Alia-Alouda, Sala-Salouda, perhaps Las-Lounda. Attouda is certainly the proper form,

as the oldest (silver) coins give it; but almost all the coins and an inscription have Attouda.

<sup>3</sup> M. Radet BCH 1890 p. 239 considers that the games were called after their founder Adrastos (like Attaleia at Aphrodisias, Kharmideia at Herakleia, &c.); and an agonotheite Adrastos is mentioned in inscr. 71. But it seems more natural to derive the name from the goddess, like the Letoia at Hierapolis, Artemisia at Ephesos, &c.



I 35 f); and it was a very common name in this part of Caria under the Roman Empire. Adrasteia is known as a nymph on Mount Ida, and a name of Cybele at Cyzicos<sup>1</sup>; in Greece the name was interpreted as an epithet of Nemesis, the Inevitable, but probably the Asian name was a different and non-Greek word, modified in Greek to give a suitable meaning.

§ 7. KAROURA, according to the Peutinger Table, was 20 miles<sup>2</sup> from Laodiceia on the great Highway. The words of Strabo p. 579 show that it was on the south side of the river, which agrees with the evidence from other sources placing the great Roman bridge over the Maeander near Antioch. If we measure along the natural line of the road, which would take the shortest line, avoiding the heavy soil of the central valley and keeping near the fringe of the southern hills, we find that Karoura must have been at the western end of a series of remarkable hot springs, in the vicinity of the village of Tekke, which is marked by its name<sup>3</sup> as bearer of the religious awe attaching to the remarkable natural surroundings and to the ancient life of Karoura<sup>4</sup>.

The precise site is determined by Strabo's statement that at Karoura there were hot springs in the channel of the Maeander. This phenomenon occurs about a mile N.E. from Tekke-Keui<sup>5</sup>, see Ch. I § 1.

There is a temptation to identify Karoura with the village or town that grew up round the temple of Men Karou; but this is inconsistent both with the distance given on the Peutinger Table, and with the words of Strabo, who says that the temple was situated between Karoura and Laodiceia<sup>6</sup>. He evidently shared the common Greek idea that the name arose from the village being the Karian frontier

<sup>1</sup> See Preller-Plew *Griech. Mythol.* I 106, 440: Preller-Robert I p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Measuring as carefully as I can, I find just 19 Roman miles along the direct road from the middle of Laodiceia to the centre of Karoura; but it must be remembered that in the Table half-miles at either end would naturally be reckoned as complete miles. So the distance from Apameia to Laodiceia can hardly be more than 70 M.P.; but it is LXXI in the Table.

<sup>3</sup> Tekke, a religious building, seat of a set of dervishes.

<sup>4</sup> On this subject see my paper on *The Permanent Attachment of Religious*

*Awe to Special Sites* in *Transactions of the Oriental Congress* 1892.

<sup>5</sup> The spot is marked on the railway survey given me by Mr. Purser. I have not visited it: when we rode from Serai-Keui to Ortakche along the south side of the valley in April 1884 the ground towards the river was too soft and marshy, and we had to keep up near the southern hills.

<sup>6</sup> μεταξύ τῆς Λαοδικείας καὶ τῶν Καρούρων ἱερὸν ἔστι Μηνὸς Κάρου καλούμενον τιμώμενον ἀξιολόγως p. 580. He says that Karoura was the frontier of Caria, and it is only eight miles from the Kapros, the frontier river.



(*Καρῶν ὄρια*); but this is a piece of popular etymology. Karoura is probably derived from the name of the god Karou, and was doubtless originally in the territory under his influence.

We might also be tempted to identify Menokome, mentioned by Strabo p. 557, with the holy village around the temple of Men Karou. But this is impossible, for Athenaeus II p. 43 says that there were hot springs at Menokome, and in the same sentence he describes the hot springs of Karoura as a different place. I formerly made this error (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 135), supposing that the temple might have stood a little way east of Karoura. The result of the false position for the temple was that the site near Gereli had to be identified with Attouda, leaving the site near Assar on the higher ground for Trapezopolis.

Karoura derived some importance from being the half-way station between Laodiceia and Antioch. Hence there grew up at Karoura various establishments for the service of the baths and the convenience of the numerous travellers along the great Highway; and the only fact recorded about it relates to this character. It was peculiarly liable to earthquakes; and in one of these a large company of women (such as would congregate in a town of passengers and fashionable baths) disappeared with their master (Strab. p. 578). Athenaeus mentions the waters as hard and very hot, while those of Menokome were harsher and impregnated with nitre<sup>1</sup>.

§ 8. *TRAPEZOPOLIS.* The site of this city has not as yet been fixed by any epigraphic evidence. It was in the *conventus* of Alabanda, and therefore cannot have been situated in the Lycos valley or on the road from Laodiceia to Kibyra, for in either case it must have been included in the Cibyratic *conventus*. But it was reckoned to Phrygia Pacatiana throughout the Byzantine period; and therefore it must have been close to Phrygian territory, and cannot have been situated in the great plain of Tabai, for all cities from Sebastopolis westward were in Byzantine Caria. These facts led me to suppose that Trapezopolis must be situated in the hilly country between the valley of Tabai and the road Laodiceia-Themissonion-Cibyra; and the explorations of the Asia Minor Fund in 1884 and 1886 were directed with a view to make the expected discovery. The result however was that no trace of any city, and no apparent room for a city, could be found west of that road on the south of M. Salbakos without trespassing on territory which is proved to be Carian. Trapezopolis therefore lay north of M. Salbakos near the frontier between Caria and Phrygia and west of Laodiceia in such a position that, when the Phrygian frontier

<sup>1</sup> II 43 A: Kaibel proposes *κατάσκληρα* for *κατάξηρα*.



was moved a little further west, Trapezopolis came to be in Phrygia, not in Caria.

This confirms the inference, drawn from the coin described in § 4, that Attouda and Trapezopolis were conterminous; and we find that the Attoudan personal name Adrastos, derived from the name of the common goddess of the two cities, occurs on a coin of Trapezopolis. Further it is shown on pp. 109, 121, that Phrygia Hierapolitana was a district stretching along the western frontier of Pacatiana. Now Trapezopolis was not (as Attouda was) in Phrygia Hierapolitana, but continued subject to Laodiceia; this appears to be a conclusive proof that Trapezopolis did not lie west of Attouda, separated by it from Laodiceia. The only other situation for it is south-east of Attouda, so that it corresponded to the modern *mudurluk* Kadi-Keui. Finally Hierocles follows the order Attouda, Trapezopolis, Colossai<sup>1</sup>; which suits this situation perfectly, and even demands it.

The name Trapezopolis must be considered. A situation such as has been suggested would explain it, for a very small flat plateau such as that of Kadi-Keui, bounded on two sides by sharp and deep cañons, might very naturally be called a 'table.' Assar, on the other hand, is built on a plain of considerable extent, and undulating wheat-growing fields are the marked feature round it; and it is only when one travels away from it that the cañons begin to be noticed.

§ 9. HYDRELA. This obscure city is known from a few imperial coins, struck between the time of Hadrian and that of Geta; and it is occasionally referred to by the historians and geographers. Stephanus places it in Caria, and Livy mentions it as a border district between Phrygia and Caria<sup>2</sup>. As we have already seen, it was in the Lycos valley that the confusion as to the bounds between Caria and Phrygia was so marked; Stephanus puts Laodiceia in Caria (Ch. II § 1); and Ptolemy assigns both Tripolis and Laodiceia to Caria. In this neighbourhood, therefore, we should look for Hydrela.

Strabo p. 650 says that the inhabitants of Hydrela, Athymbra and Athymbrada were taken to people the new Seleucid foundation Nysa; but, as Hydrela struck imperial coins, it cannot have been

<sup>1</sup> This long argument has brought us nearly to the conclusion that was long ago stated by M. Waddington. In his *Voyage Numism.* he put Trapezopolis at or near Denizli; but a city so far east would necessarily be in the Cibyratic *conventus*. Denizli is really the modern correspondent to Laodiceia. On inscr.

1695 he puts it unimpeachably, but vaguely, *entre Assar et Khonas*.

<sup>2</sup> XXXVII 56. His words are rather obscure, and are apparently a literal translation from Greek, *Καρίαν τὴν Ὑδρηλα καλουμένην καὶ χώραν Ὑδρηλιτην*: see the next note.



seriously weakened by the deportation. This throws no light on its situation.

Pliny mentions the Hydrelitani among the more important states of the Cibyratic *conventus*, along with the Themisones and the Hierapolitae. Now, when we indicate on the map the bounds between the four *conventus* of Sardis, Ephesos, Alabanda, and Cibyra, we find it hardly possible to suppose that the last included any territory on the right or Lydian bank of the Maeander. The fact that Tripolis was Sardian shows that the Maeander separated the Sardian and Cibyratic *conventus*; and the fact that Attouda and Trapezopolis were under Alabanda shows that the Kapros separated that *conventus* from the Cibyratic. Hydrela, therefore, must have been on the left bank of the Maeander.

Again, it is clear that there is no room for Hydrela south of the Lycos. We have found that the whole territory between the Lycos and the Kapros was Laodicean. Hydrela therefore was on the north bank of the Lycos, between it and the Maeander.

The language of Livy<sup>1</sup> makes it clear that we are right in putting Hydrela on the north bank of the Maeander and Lycos: all Caria south of the Maeander was given to the Rhodians, but to Eumenes was given the Carian region called Hydrelitan. The later words of Livy seem to describe the Lycos valley, with the district about Tripolis (the same region that is reckoned to Caria by Ptolemy) and the Kazanes valley: this whole district must have belonged to Eumenes (as it is required to form the connexion between Milyas and the other countries assigned to Eumenes), and it is not included in the other items of the list while it suits the last two items.

Now precisely in this district there is room for a city; there is a very large territory between the Lycos and the Maeander, and we can hardly think that it all belonged to Hierapolis, which appears to have owed its wealth to the religious and medical attractions of its springs. The *ager Hydrelitanus* of Livy, which is distinguished by him from the city<sup>2</sup>, must then be a name for the whole valley north

<sup>1</sup> Livy XXXVII 56 Lycaoniam omnem et Phrygiam utramque et Mysiam, regias silvas (probably read Milyas Ch. IX App. II), et Lydiae Ioniaeque (extra . . . Magnesiam ad Sip.) et Cariam quae Hydrela appellatur agrumque Hydrelitanum ad Phrygiam vergentem et castella vicosque ad Maeandrum et oppida (including Laodiceia and Themisonion):

these belonged to Eumenes. But in ch. 55 Lyciam Cariamque usque ad Maeandrum amnem belonged to Rhodes without any exception stated. *Ad Phrygiam vergentem* implies that Colossai is the frontier city of Phrygia in the strictest sense (p. 85): Hydrela then is the district described in Ch. I § 4.

<sup>2</sup> A *polis* is always reckoned to in-



of the Lycos. In the western part of this territory was the city Hydrela; and in the eastern part a *hieron* beside the hot springs formed the religious centre of the tribe Hydrelitani. Beside this hieron, as we have seen in Ch. III, the city of Hierapolis was gradually formed.

The original unity of the whole valley north of the Lycos was restored in Byzantine times. There was never any bishopric Hydrela; for religion seems never to have recognized the political separation of the two cities Hydrela and Hierapolis.

The people Hydrelitai occupied, then, the country that was bounded by Colossai on the east, the mountains of Mossyna on the north, the Maeander on the west, and the Lycos on the south. Now Xerxes, on his march from Colossai to the Maeander, passed through Kydrara, and this word is obviously a mere variant of Hydrela<sup>1</sup>; so that we find our inferences confirmed by this ancient authority. The territory that lay between Colossai and the Maeander on the direct line towards Sardis was called as a whole Kydrara. Herodotus VII 31 mentions the city Kydrara, on the left side of the Maeander; but he uses the name Kydrara to indicate the entire territory, for he says that the roads forked at the point where Phrygia and Lydia met, i. e. where the Colossian and the Kydraran territories met, and in the immediately preceding sentence he stated that the sign-post indicating the bounds was at the city. The impression given by this, as by every other sentence in which Herodotus describes anything in the interior of Asia Minor, is that he depends on an excellent authority whose report he reproduces in a free way without personal acquaintance with the localities and therefore without the precise accuracy which only the eye-witness can impart to a description<sup>2</sup>. In particular, he

clude the territory that belongs to the city: the *ager Hydrelitanus* here must be something which was not actually part of the state Hydrela, and yet was peopled by the same tribe or race. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that a tribe occupying a wide territory had in B.C. 190 been divided into a city Hydrela, and a tribal district in which there had not as yet taken place the process of *synoikismos* (aft. Hierapolis).

<sup>1</sup> The penultimate syllable of Kydrara must be long, and *ā* corresponds to *η* in Hydrela, compare Herodotus's Καλλά-τηβος with Καλλάταβα BCH 1891 p. 375

(where however M. Radet, the discoverer, says that *la restitution est trop longue*). The variation of *λ* and *ρ* is common, cp. Parilia and Palilia. The varying forms 'Υ- and Κυ- are illustrated in a note on § 11.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ δὲ Κολοσσέων ὁρμεώμενος ὁ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους τῶν Φρυγῶν καὶ Λυδῶν ἀπῖκετο ἐς Κύδραρα πόλιν ἔνθα στήλη καταπεπηγυῖα σταθεῖσα δὲ ὑπὸ Κροίσου καταμηνύει διὰ γραμμάτων τοὺς οὖρους· ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φρυγίης ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, σχιζομένης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐς ἀριστερὴν ἐπὶ Καρίης φερούσης τῆς δὲ ἐς δεξιὴν ἐς Σάρδεις, τῇ καὶ πορευομένῳ διαβῆναι τὸν Μαίανδρον



is frequently apt to express himself about non-Greek facts in terms which bear a Greek colouring.

Stephanus gives the ethnic 'Υδρηλεύς, but coins have ΥΔΡΗΛΕΙΤΩΝ and Pliny *Hydrelitae*, while Livy uses *Hydrelitanus*.

The coins of the city give no information about its situation or constitution, and little about its religion. Apollo with the lyre is the most characteristic type; and the same type is also common at Hierapolis, Tripolis, Apollonos-Hieron, and Daldis, the neighbouring cities of Lydia.

§ 10. HYLION AND LEIMMOKHEIR were two towns (πολίχνια) on the Maeander, near a place where there had once been a bridge. In the late autumn or early winter of 1176 a Turkish army which had ravaged the Maeander valley down to the sea, was intercepted at the crossing of the river by the Byzantine forces, which had advanced by Philadelpheia<sup>1</sup>. The larger part of the Christian army waited in ambush on the right bank of the river, while the rest crossed to the left bank. Nicetas, who alone has described the battle, does not explain at what point on the Maeander the old bridge was; but the whole tone of the narrative suggests that the army lay in ambush at a point near where they first came to the river, and did not march down the bank. The Turks came up, and when they began to cross were attacked with missiles by the Byzantine troops on the right bank. The Turkish leader, Atapakas, after resisting for a short time, fled a little way up the stream, and then swam his horse across. Arrived on the other side, he took refuge on a rising ground, and shouted to his friends to rally round him; but the Christians attacked and killed him. Had the ambuscade been laid some distance down the river towards Antiocheia, the Turks, when they first saw what had been done, would probably have abandoned the attempt to cross at the point of danger, and would have marched on up the Maeander and crossed it above the Lycos junction. It is, however, apparently

ποταμὸν πᾶσα ἀνάγκη γίνεται καὶ ἵεναι παρὰ Καλλάτηβον πόλιν, κ.τ.λ. It is obvious that the word πόλις cannot be pressed in this and in some other passages of Herodotus; he is applying a Greek term to an Anatolian idea. Here Colossai is the border city of Phrygia, and the frontier of Kydrara and Colossai is the frontier of Lydia and Phrygia. Strabo also reckons Hierapolis to Lydia, as we have seen; and Livy can be best understood on the same view.

<sup>1</sup> Nicetas p. 252 does not mention by what route they advanced, leaving his readers to understand that they took the same road along which in the immediately preceding and following years, so many Byzantine armies had advanced and retired. Moreover no other route to the Maeander would have enabled the Christians to intercept the Turks as they returned from their rapid foray down the Maeander valley.



implied that they had no alternative except to cross where they were; and this seems to show that they were crossing near the highest possible point on the river, a little below the point where it issues from the gorge in the Mossyna mountains and enters the Lycos valley. Above that point the Turkish line of march could not go. Here they must cross, and here the Christian army lay in wait for them.

But how could the Byzantine army be sure that the Turks would march on the right bank so far up the river instead of crossing somewhere below the Lycos junction? The answer is simple. It was now near midwinter, and the river, swoln by the rains of late autumn, was not fordable below the Lycos junction. A month or two earlier the Turks marched down the left bank, captured Antioch, crossed the Maeander and took Tralleis; but the river was now much larger, and the Christian general could calculate with certainty on their line of march. He crossed, probably, by the pass of Aetos<sup>1</sup> leading from Philadelphæia, and did not go either to Apollonos-Hieron or to Tripolis, but marched direct to Hyelion (ἐνθὺ τοῦ Ὑελίου).

One fact might suggest a momentary doubt whether the point of crossing was so high, viz. the depth of the water above the ford; the Turkish general's horse had to swim the river. In summer, it is true, the Maeander is fordable almost everywhere above the Lycos junction; but in winter it is hardly fordable at any point<sup>2</sup>. Now it is certain that this battle must have taken place towards midwinter; and it is therefore quite natural that Atapakas should have tried in vain to find a second ford above the one which was beset by the enemy. The rising ground on which he took refuge was probably one of the outermost parts of the terrace in front of the mountains of Mossyna (pp. 3, 84).

Nothing is known about Leimmokheir except what we can gather from this passage of Nicetas. It is probable that it was on the opposite side of the Maeander from Hyelion, and the bridge crossed from one to the other. In that case we might conclude that Hyelion, being mentioned first, was on the near bank, i.e. the Lydian side of the river; but it would hardly be safe to make this inference in the case of Nicetas, who often seeks rhetorical effect by unexpected

<sup>1</sup> On Aetos see App. III §§ 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> On April 13, 1671, T. Smith had much difficulty in finding a ford near Tripolis. In Nov. 1881 we had extreme difficulty in fording the river about 12 miles further up, and our horses

could barely keep their footing. In early June 1888 a ford about 25 miles above Tripolis was just beginning to be passable; and twelve people had been drowned when attempting to cross it in a body shortly before we crossed.



arrangement<sup>1</sup>. Other reasons, however, make it practically certain that Hyelion was on the Lydian bank, § 11.

§ 11. DALDIS. Hyelion may probably be identified as the town of the people Hyaleis, who are mentioned as belonging to the same bishopric as Daldis in Lydia<sup>2</sup>. Daldis and Hyelion, therefore, were either varying names of the same place, or were neighbouring towns, Daldis being the more important in the Roman period, while Hyelion became the centre of population in the disturbed Byzantine period: the latter then may be expected to occupy a stronger position on the hills, while the former may be looked for more in the plain (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 87).

No evidence as to the situation of Daldis is known. Suidas says that it was a city of Lydia (s. v. 'Αρτεμίδωρος). The *Notitiae* mention it between Hierocaesareia and Stratonikaia-on-the-Kaikos; but the order of enumeration in Byzantine Lydia is so arbitrary that no argument can be founded on it alone. Ptolemy places Dadaleis in Maeonia, along with Saittai and Kadoi; and we ought perhaps to alter the corrupt name Dadaleis to Daldeis; but Sataleis has also been proposed, and the text remains uncertain. If Daldeis is the proper correction in Ptolemy, then we must conclude either that he puts the city in a wrong place, or that the identification of Hyelion and Hyaleis, which we have adopted as probable, must be abandoned. Moreover the position near Saittai and Kadoi, assigned by Ptolemy, does not suit the order of the Byzantine lists, so that none of the indications as to the site of Daldis agree.

The situation of the people Hyaleis is equally obscure, apart from Nicetas p. 252. It is quite probable that their town may be identified with Kyalos, mentioned by Stephanus as a city of Lydia, founded by Kyalos, son of Zeus<sup>3</sup>; and Kyalos may be taken as a heroized form of Apollo. But this gives no evidence as to the situation.

The only clue to the situation of this bishopric lies in the passage of Nicetas, and is founded on the proposed assignation of the people

<sup>1</sup> E.g., in this passage he mentions Tralleis before Antiocheia, though, as we have just seen, the Turks must have captured Antiocheia first.

<sup>2</sup> *Notit.* X, XIII ὁ Δαλδέων ἦτοι Ὑαλέων. Tomaschek *zur histor. Topogr. v. Kleinasien* points out this identification, which I had not observed. I add this section as an afterthought on reading his suggestive and learned treatise; but the result in it is advanced as only hypo-

thetical. It is not advisable to state any opinion on topography till after at least a year's deliberation.

<sup>3</sup> So Euromos appears on the Delian-tribute-lists in the forms Ὑρωμῆς and Κυρωμῆς (CIA I 230-239 and 37, Six in *Numism. Chron.* 1890 p. 239). Imbert identifies the Lycian *Wehnta* with Κύινδα (*Muséon* April 1891). Κότριννα and Ἐτεριννα seem identical names (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 418).



Hyaleis to the town Hyelion. The evidence amounts to this: the bishopric was in Lydia, taken in the narrower Byzantine sense, and near a bridge across the Maeander, which a Turkish army, returning from a raid down the valley as far as Tralleis and the sea, would cross on its way to Iconium. Now Byzantine Lydia reached to the Maeander only in the Lycos valley and 15 or 20 miles above it; and no road by which the Turks could go would cross the river above the Lycos valley. Further, if the bridge had been close to Tripolis, it would naturally be termed 'the bridge at Tripolis.' We are therefore led to the conclusion that the bridge was situated close to the junction between the Lycos and the Maeander. Hyelion, therefore, would be on the Lydian side near the river. Now there is room for a city here, for we have found no reason to place any city on this side of the Maeander between Tripolis and Brioula. Daldis then was situated between these two cities, on the right bank of the Maeander; and Hyelion was situated on the hills above it, i. e. on the spur of Messogis which has been described Ch. I § 2 as projecting towards the east into the valley a few miles south of Tripolis.

M. Imhoof-Blumer informs me that coins prove that Daldis was for a time called *Caesareia*<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that this is the city mentioned as *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Καισαρέων* in an inscription of Antiocheia, found in 1893 by Kubitschek and Reichel (see *Addenda*); Tralleis however bore the title *Caesareia*<sup>2</sup>, and so did Cibyra.

As the small valley of Tripolis and Apollonos-Hieron seems well filled by them alone (App. III), we should probably have to look for Daldis on the south side of the spur of Messogis, rather than on the north side. Daldis, then, may possibly be found hereafter near Ortakche or Kizil-Dere (Ch. I § 1), adjoining Brioula on the west and Apollonos-Hieron on the north. Hyelion would be found on the eastern end of the spur of Messogis, overhanging the valley and the Maeander.

M. Imhoof-Blumer informs me that the coins of Daldis afford no evidence against this situation; and he adds that the coinage appears to him to be too rich and varied to suit a situation in the Katakekaumene near Saittai and Kadoi. This consideration then leaves us between two alternatives: either we must follow the order of the

<sup>1</sup> He also says that at a later time it took the name Flaviopolis. Sala-Domitianopolis and Keretapa-Diocaesareia attest by their second names the action of the Flavian dynasty in this district; as Flaviopolis-Temenothyrai does

further north. See p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> So Pliny V 120 gives *Caesarienses* in the *conventus* of Ephesos, but in that case it is almost certain that Tralleis is meant; and the analogy is an argument for this case also.



*Notitiae* and look for Daldis in a situation near Hierocaesareia or Stratonikaia or Lydia, or we must take the suggestion here offered. In the present state of the evidence nothing more definite can be asserted.

In confirmation of this situation for Daldis, we observe that Zeus Laodiceus appears on its coins; and that a temple of Apollo is also a prominent type on them<sup>1</sup>. It is quite possible that this temple was the *hieron* which gave its name to the adjoining city, Apollonos-Hieron. Analogy is in favour of the view that the *hieron* was outside of the Graeco-Roman city, and distinct from it. A coin of Daldis represents the slaying of Medusa as taking place near this temple; the myth of Perseus is known in Asia Minor, both in Paphlagonia (Amastris and Sebaste) and in Lycaonia and Cilicia.

§ 12. SALA AND TRALLA. Sala is classed by numismatic writers to Phrygia from the style of its coins; and they are supported by the authority of Ptolemy, who mentions it in the south-western district; while the Byzantine lists assign it to Lydia. It therefore lay on the frontier. Now as Blaundos is classed by Ptolemy and the numismatic authorities to Phrygia, and by the Byzantine lists to Lydia, we may look for Sala and Blaundos in the same direction. Further the analogy between the coins of Sala and Laodiceia is marked, and we should therefore expect the two cities to be within easy communication with each other; Sala then should be looked for on a road that leads up from the Lycos valley northwards.

The *Notitiae* always mention Sala after Tralla, and this fact led me to conjecture that the two were united under one bishop, and that the conjunction connecting them (*ἡτοι*) dropped accidentally (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 122). Further study has confirmed this conjecture, though no decisive evidence has as yet been discovered. I think that Sala and Tralla were founded in conjunction to strengthen the Pergamenian influence against the Mysomakedones on the one side and the Blaundeis-Makedones on the other. As a pair of Pergamenian foundations not far from each other, they remained in close mutual relations, and this historical connexion showed itself in the ecclesiastical system<sup>2</sup>.

One of these cities must be looked for near the modern Geune, on

<sup>1</sup> Von Sallet *Zft. f. Numism.* V 105, Mionnet no. 178 and *Suppl.* no. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Other examples where an ancient unity or connexion between two cities reappears in the ecclesiastical system may be found in Phoba Ch. IV § 8,

Hydrela and Hierapolis V § 9, and I feel confident that further investigation will discover many more, when this line of enquiry has once been suggested.



the road that leads up from Tripolis towards Geubek (near Blaundos and Ushak). The other perhaps lay near the Derbent-Boghaz, commanding the important road from the Hermos to the Lycos valley. The arguments leading to this conclusion are given in Appendix III §§ 4 and 5.

No decisive argument is available to show which of the two lay in each situation; but the city on the Boghaz could hardly be classed to Phrygia, and the modern facts lead us to expect that the more important place would be near Geune. Sala then is to be looked for there, and Tralla near the Derbent-Boghaz. The very name of the latter would suggest its origin in a settlement of the Thracian mercenaries who under the name Tralleis or Traleis<sup>1</sup> served under the Pergamenian kings along with Mysian, Paphlagonian<sup>2</sup>, and other troops.

If the suggestion made as to the situation of Sala is correct, the river which appears on its coins is probably the Maeander (or a tributary from the north). But while in a general way the situations of Sala and Tralla seem to be well established the exact sites cannot at present be determined; they can only be placed within the limits indicated by Blaundos and Philadelphieia (or Kallataba?) on the north, Mysomakedones on the west, Tripolis on the south, and the Maeander and the Motella on the east<sup>3</sup>.

Such a situation would suit the title Domitianopolis, which was perhaps taken in rivalry with Flaviopolis-Temenothyrai. The people are called Σαληνοί and Σαλειται<sup>4</sup>. The titles ΑΡΧΙΕΡΑΤεύων, Ιερεύς, Στρατηγός, and ΑΡΧων occur on the coins. *Addenda* 27.

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<sup>1</sup> There was, however, also an old Anatolian name (Tralleis on the Maeander, Tirallis in Cappadocia), which perhaps is due to original kindred between Anatolian and Thraco-Illyrian population. On the Pergamenian Tralleis see *Hist. Geogr.* p. 112, Fränkel *Inscr. Pergam.* I no. 13 p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Paphlagonians, viz. the Masdyenoi *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 126, 432: the identification there given is approved by M. Radet.

<sup>3</sup> The reasons why the identification of Sala with Alamsalam (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 122) must be abandoned are stated in App. III § 4.

<sup>4</sup> On Sala and Salouda p. 169 n.



## APPENDIX I.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF ATTOUDA AND TRAPEZOPOLIS.

It is difficult to say how many inscriptions of Attouda are known. Those published in BCH 1887 p. 349 and 1890 p. 238 certainly belong to it: so also do the following nos. 70, 71, and CIG 3950, 3951. But CIG 3948 and 3949, which are attributed to Gereli-Keui, certainly belong to Laodiceia; and the descriptions prefixed to each show that they were actually found on the site. CIG 3946 and 3947 are said to have been found at Dere-Keui, and I was told that Dere-Keui lies in the hilly country west from Laodiceia. But 3946 is known to be an inscription found at Sardis, and is rightly published under Sardis by M. Waddington no. 618. It is therefore doubtful whether 3947 belongs to this district: if it does, it may belong either to Trapezopolis, or Laodiceia, or Attouda. The text which is badly restored in CIG should perhaps be read—

68. [τὸν βωμὸν? ἀνέθηκεν?] Ἐπαφρόδειτος [Ἐ]ρ[μ]ᾶ κατ' ὄνειρον καὶ τὸ ναῖδειον.

The monument is either *ex voto* or sepulchral; its erection was ordered by the god in a dream Ch. IV § 12 and no. 38. It consisted of [an altar?] and a miniature temple, i.e. a small shrine, or perhaps a sepulchral stele carved in the form of the gable of a temple.

The following inscription, which I saw at the railway station at Serai-Keui immediately after it was found, was said to come from Dere-Keui<sup>1</sup>:

69. (R. 1883). *συνγενικὸν τὸ Μέγα δις τοῦ Μηνοφίλου μνείας χάριν.* The family-tomb of Megas, son of Megas and grandson of Menophilos. This formula is often misunderstood by editors of inscriptions, who would take it as meaning Megas, son and grandson of Menophilos. This

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<sup>1</sup> It has since been published in another place as found at Hierapolis. This I believe to be an error. There is a tendency to assume that a stone comes from the familiar site,

and to name it when the eager archaeologist asked where the stone was found. Dere-Keui was named to me on perfect authority.



inscription was engraved under a stone with sculptures in relief, an interesting variety of the widespread type of the 'sepulchral feast.' It is represented in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* III 1887 p. 353.

The name Megas which occurs here is a remarkable one. It is usually explained as the Greek adj. μέγας. But, as we find it in Asia, this is improbable<sup>1</sup>. Comparing Μεγάβυζος = Bagabuxša, Μεγασίδρης = Bagsithra (cp. Γωσίθρης)<sup>2</sup>, Μαγαδάτης, Μάγας, we conclude that the name Μέγας is connected with Baga, god; and that it is the diminutive or *kosen* name of a compound name, of which Baga- was the first element. It is certain that the word бага was an important element in Phrygian nomenclature (Ch. IV § 8). We must separate Megas from Megales or Megaleis and the whole connected family, Mheales, Mealeitis (tribe at Sillyon), Mealina or Mialina, &c. Kretschmer in *Zft. f. vergl. Sprachf.* 1893 p. 260 accepts my proposed derivation of Mheales from μεγάλ-; and, for the loss of the *g* compares Φιαλεία, ὀλίος, ἰών, Τραίλιον (νόμισμα) from Tragilos<sup>3</sup> (I should add also the common Anatolian personal name Τρωίλος, connecting it with the promontory Trogilos<sup>4</sup>). I differ from him, however, as regards the origin of these names: they are not derived directly from the adjective, but from the ἡ Μεγάλη (θεός), the Great Goddess (*Church in Roman Empire* p. 139). Meas for Megas is found in Pamphylia (Lanckoronski *Städte Pamph.* I no. 65). The tribe Mealitis at Syllion was named after the Μεγάλη Θεά.

70. (R. 1884: see A. H. Smith in JHS 1887 p. 224: incorrectly published CIG 3952 and Waddington 743, from old copies, which are bad and have been doctored). Νεικίαν, παῖδα τῶν εἰ γεγονότων, υἱὸν Πανσανίου (Πανσανίου) τοῦ Διονοισίου ἀνδρὸς βουλευτοῦ καὶ πάσας ἀρχὰς κὲ λειτουργίας λαμπρῶς κὲ ἐπιφανῶς ἐκτετελεκότος, νεικήσαντα τὸν πρῶτως ἐπιτελεσθέντα τῶν Ποιθίων ἀγῶνα Νε[ρώνια στεφανω]τὰ κὲ ἀνδριάντεια παίδων πάλην ἀναθέντος τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Περείτου τὸν ἀνδριάντα τῆς ἀναστάσεως γενομένης δι' ἐπιμελητῶν Πανσανίου τοῦ Πανσανίου (τοῦ Πανσανίου) κὲ Πανσανίου τοῦ Ἐπιγόνου τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως προτραπέντων. The first name of the games (in which the rules were on the Pythian model) has

<sup>1</sup> Μέγας the Aeginetan may either bear a true Greek name similar to the Asian, or a foreign name. Pape also quotes a Lycian Megas from Il. 16, 695.

<sup>2</sup> See Schulze in Kuhn's *Zft. f. vergl. Sprachf.* XXXIII 1893 p. 216.

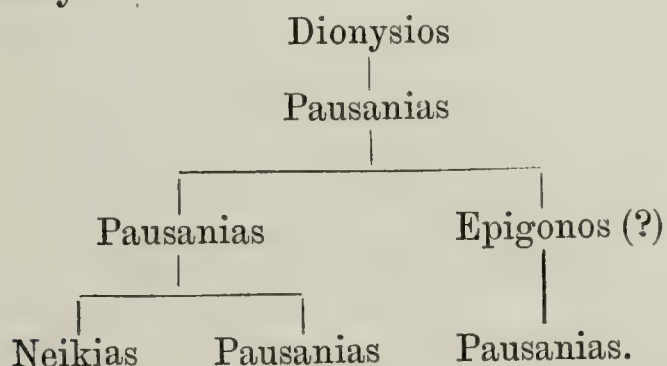
<sup>3</sup> Kretschmer mentions Trailos for Tragilos, but this does not occur in the passage which he quotes as authority:

I believe that the loss of *g* tended to occur only in a syllable preceding the accent, and that ὀλίγος, ὀλίος, is a case of different character.

<sup>4</sup> Τρωίλος at Troy is probably connected with the city-name. Is Τροία for Τρογία? and is Τράγιλος connected with Τρώγιλος, 'the place of goats'? On the variation *a* and *o*, see p. 153.



been erased; we may conjecture that they bore Nero's name, and that the winners were rewarded with a garland and a statue; but the restoration is of course uncertain. The expression *Νεικίαν Πανσανίου β' τοῦ Διονυσίου* and *Πανσανίου τοῦ Πανσανίου γ'* seem to denote two brothers. The stemma probably is



The phrase *παῖδα τῶν εἰ γεγονότων* is uncommon. It also occurs at Aphrodisias, no. 72.

71. (R. 1884). . . . . Ἀδράσ[του Λοκρί]ου τοῦ ἀ[ξιολο]γωτάτο[υ ἀγωνο]-  
θέτου δι[ὰ β]ίου [. . . ἀ]λιπτὴν Λονγ[εινιανὸν [Πολυ]χρονίου].

Polychronios was a common name at Aphrodisias (CIG 2828, 2839), where a man named Adrastos Polychronios and a woman Polychronia occur CIG 2824. The doubtful restoration *Λοκρίου* is taken from the doubtful form in BCH 1890 p. 239.

## APPENDIX II.

### THE PHRYGO-CARIAN FRONTIER.

ATTOUDA, Trapezopolis, and Hydrela were included by Diocletian in his province of Phrygia. The following cities were in strictness Carian (except Brioula which was Lydian), but many of them are described by some old authorities as Phrygian. The boundary between Caria and Phrygia was very uncertain<sup>1</sup>. Strabo p. 586 includes the valleys of

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Kiepert in the text accompanying his map of Asia Provincia objects to my following the authority of Strabo and assigning the Maeander as the division between Caria and Lydia. It is certain that on this as on almost all questions of boundary there was a good deal of divergence, especially in earlier time. But in the Roman time

Caria was determined greatly by the limits of the *conventus* of Alabanda, viz. the river Maeander. There we have a distinct and definite fact, which must govern the allocation of Roman coins. Further the Maeander was selected in 190 as a limit between the Rhodian power and the Pergamenian; this fact must determine the allocation of later



Aphrodisias and Tabai in Phrygia, whereas Ptolemy extends Caria to include Tripolis and Laodiceia. A brief reference to each city in this debatable land will suffice.

1. KIDRAMOS is mentioned by no ancient authorities except the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, which place it in Caria. Its coins show some Phrygian analogies, so that we may place it on the frontier of Caria and Phrygia. It must be put on the northern rather than on the southern side of M. Salbakos, because (1) according to M. Imhoof-Blumer 'a coin of Colossai agrees so remarkably in type, arrangement of the inscription, style, and weight with one of Kidramos that no doubt remains with regard to the proximity of the two cities.' (2) Kidramos mentions ZEYC · AYΔIOC on its coins, which, as M. Imhoof-Blumer rightly says<sup>1</sup>, proves that it must have been on the Lydian frontier, i.e. in the Maeander valley not far from the main river near the border between Caria and Phrygia, yet close to Lydia. It is to be looked for, in accordance with these indications, between Antioch on the west and Attouda or Karoura on the east, perhaps somewhere opposite Ortakche, on a spur of the hills that fringe the valley. This brings us very near Karoura; and a question suggests itself as to the relation between them. Was Karoura in the same relation to Kidramos as the hieron of Men Karou to Attouda?

This situation suits the numismatic fact already mentioned § 4, that Laodiceia, Trapezopolis, Attouda, Kidramos, Taba, and Apollonia Salbake use ΔΙΑ before personal names on their coins.

Hierocles does not mention Kidramos. His omission of a city which struck coins in the Roman time and appears as a bishopric in the *Notitiae* must arise from one of three causes, (1) a fault in the MSS., (2) a temporary change of name, (3) the city may have been included in the same bishopric with some other city. In this case the second reason is most probable. Marcianopolis and Anastasiopolis, which occur in no *Notitia*, are given by Hierocles between Eriza and the imperial estates of Phylakaion; and one of them is possibly Kidramos.

Some *Notitiae* give the variant Kindramos. The optional insertion of the nasal sound is characteristic of Anatolian pronunciation, as has been observed by many scholars.

Greek coins. Again Kidramos worshipped Zeus Lydios, which would suggest that Lydian influence was strong in the Maeander valley. Lydian colonists had even penetrated to Cibyra. It is therefore quite contrary to the evidence to bound Lydia absolutely by Messogis, as Kiepert does.

<sup>1</sup> But in respect of one coin he says 'les types et l'aspect de cette monnaie rappellent tant ceux de certains bronzes de Termessos' that one might be inclined to seek a situation on that side, did not the coin of Zeus Lydios give more decisive evidence.



The following inscriptions from coins reveal the genealogy of a rich and powerful family of Kidramos.

Nero ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ · ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (Löbbecke *Num. Zft.* 1877 p. 52)<sup>1</sup>.

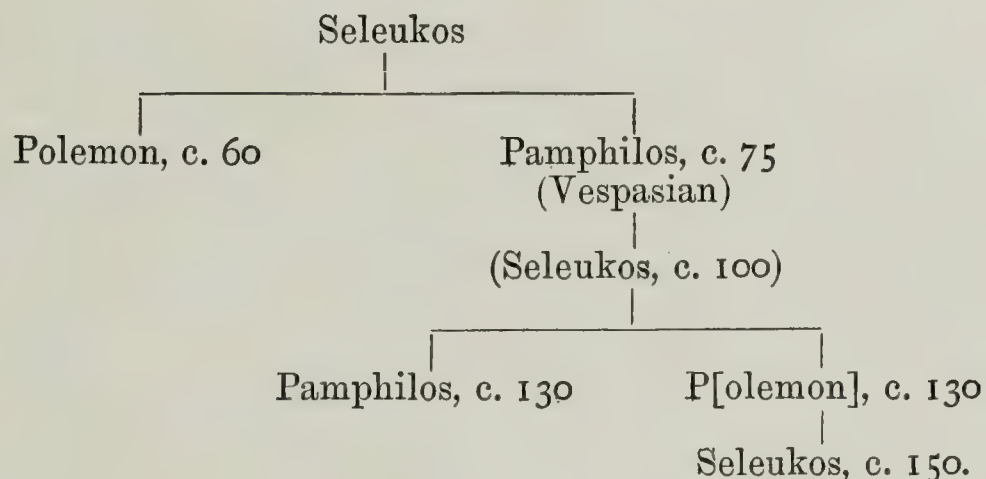
Vespasian ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΣ · ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ (Imhoof-Blumer *GM* p. 208).

Hadrian ΔΙΑ · ΠΑΝΦΙΛΟΥ · ΚΑΙ · Π[ΟΛΕΜΩΝΟΣ].

Hadrian ΔΙΑ · ΠΑΝΦΙΛΟΥ.

Aurelius Verus Caesar ΔΙ · ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟ · ΠΟΛΕΜΩ.

Restoring conjecturally one intermediate step, we have the following *stemma*:



2. ANTIOCHEIA-ON-THE-MAEANDER was founded to command the crossing of the Maeander and the roads from Ephesos &c. to the East and to Aphrodisias and Tabai. Pliny says that it was formed from two older towns Symmaithos and Kranaos<sup>2</sup>; but Stephanus says that Pythopolis was its original name. It was founded on an isolated hill, where the Morsynos valley joins the Maeander valley, by Antiochus Soter (281-61). The god ΚΩΖΩΝ (Ch. VIII § 9) and the Maeander bridge are represented occasionally on its coins, which are very numerous and varied.

The road to Aphrodisias diverged from the main line of the Eastern Highway after crossing the Antiochian bridge over the Maeander. It passed close beneath the walls of Antioch, probably on the eastern side. About this point 'a lion carved in white marble, the head and hind parts missing, the back inscribed with the word ΟΔΟΣ, *the way*, which shows that it was designed as an index for travellers,' was observed by Picenini and his travelling-companions<sup>3</sup>. Several milestones on this road are published BCH 1890 p. 235 by M. Radet. One of them is numbered sixth (from Antioch).

3. TANTALOS is mentioned as a komopolis by Nicetas along with Karia

<sup>1</sup> I have tacitly corrected a misprint in the legend as published by Löbbecke.

<sup>2</sup> V 108: vv. ll. Seminethos, Symine-thos. Antiocheia Parva in the lists of *Conc. Phot.* 879 is probably the Isaurian

city and not this one (see Tomaschek *Beitr. z. Gesch. Top.* p. 58).

<sup>3</sup> I quote from Chandler *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* I p. 270, Oxford 1825.



§ 5; his order would place it further down the river than Karia. In this direction we find the name still in use. The river Morsynos, which flows from Aphrodisias past Antiocheia into the Maeander, is called Dandala-Su, 'the-water-of-Tantalos<sup>1</sup>.' Tantalos then was the mediaeval name for the district along the south bank of the Maeander towards Antiocheia. The name Morsynos may probably be connected with Marsyas, cp. no. 32.

4. HYLARIMA, according to the order of Hierocles, should be between Antioch and Harpasa. But according to Stephanus, Hyllarima lay above Stratonicea; and this expression denotes a situation on a higher plateau traversed by a road from the lower valley of Stratonicea (Ch. VIII § 1). The few references connect it with the west coast. The *koinon* of the Hyllarimeis, as friends and kindred, sent ambassadors to Halicarnassos (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 p. 94); and the *demos* in conjunction with Miletos, Iasos, Parion, Bargylia, Herakleia, Cos, and Marathesion<sup>2</sup>, honoured a citizen of Alabanda. Hence, when Eupolemos in 314 was sent from some point near the coast (probably Mylasa) to lay an ambush *περὶ ΚΑΠΡΙΜΑ τῆς Καρίας* for the army of Ptolemy Antigonos's general, we may correct to *ΥΛΑΡΙΜΑ* and suppose that the situation was on the road leading from Mylasa (which was probably the city of Eupolemos) to Stratonicea<sup>3</sup>. M. Bérard appears to have discovered the actual site near a village Karadja Assar; but he gives no clue to the situation except the vague phrase *entre Meles et Eski-Hissar*.

It is clear, therefore, that there is a dislocation in Hierocles's list: Hyllarima and Iasos have been torn from their proper place.

5. HARMALA is mentioned as a small town, where in A.D. 1190 the pretender Alexius maintained himself for a brief space (Nicetas 549, 552; Ephraem. 6047). Near it was a castle PISSA. The inference that Harmala was in the Maeander valley is suggested by the terms in which Nicetas mentions the subject, and so Haase assumes in his text p. 274. But in his note he remarks more correctly that Harmala probably lay further east and nearer Iconium. Nicetas says only that Alexius was

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<sup>1</sup> This river is erroneously called Kara-Su by Kiepert and all the modern travellers. Kara-Su is a town and a governmental centre on a tributary of the Dandala-Su; but I was repeatedly assured by natives that they distinguished the main river as Dandala or Tandala-Su from Kara-Su the town. I have not, however, convinced Prof. Kiepert that my information on this

point is correct; and he repeats the name Kara-Su in his latest map. The bridge by which the road to Geira crosses the river half-way up is called Tandala-Keupreu.

<sup>2</sup> So I correct the text of BCH 1886 p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus XIX 68: see Wroth in *Numism. Chron.* 1891 p. 135 f.



first seen in the Maeander valley, and thereafter betook himself to Harmala, where he first made known his royal origin. The mention of Pissa perhaps gives a clue to the situation of Harmala. There is a village Pisa or Bissa on the hills on the north side of Kara-Arslan-Ova (valley of Apollonia): perhaps this is the Pissa of Nicetas. It was observed first by Prof. Sterrett, who has published two inscriptions found there<sup>1</sup>.

6. LOUMA and PENTACHEIR are placed by Haase<sup>2</sup> in the Maeander valley near Antioch: the only reference to them (Nicetas p. 251) shows that they were further west, perhaps even beyond Tralleis; in that neighbourhood, Mount Latmos is called *Besh-Parmak* (i. e. 'Five Fingers'<sup>3</sup>).

7. MONASTERIES. George Pachymeres, I p. 310, speaks of the numerous monasteries in the Maeander valley, which were deserted by the monks as the once fruitful valley gradually became a wilderness through the Turkish incursions in the reign of Michael Palaeologus (1258-82). The Osmanli conquest was so thorough because it destroyed the civilization of Asia; and its thoroughness was proportionate to its destroying effect. Where it suffered any commerce and education to remain, it was correspondingly less effectual.

8. GORDIOU-TEICHOS must have been situated on the middle course of the Morsynos near the modern town Kara-Su (which is seat of a *mudur*). It was on the route of Manlius one day's march south of Antioch on the road to Tabai, which was apparently reached in two days' march (*tertiis castris*) from *Gordiou Teichos*. It struck coins; but is never mentioned in the Byzantine lists. Perhaps it was included under the same bishop as Antioch; but more probably it ought to be identified with Tapasa, which occurs in all the *Notitiae* next to Antioch.

9. APHRODISIAS was one of the greatest cities of Caria under the Roman Empire. As time passed, the west coast of Caria diminished in importance, many of its cities sank into insignificance and ceased to strike

<sup>1</sup> In a private letter he expressed to me the opinion that Pissa was an ancient name preserved; but no reference to any ancient Pissa was at the time known to either of us. His opinion is now justified.

<sup>2</sup> Ersch and Gruber *Encyclop.* s. v. *Phrygien* p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> Tomaschek, *zur histor. Topographie Kleinasiens*, identifies Pentacheir with another mountain Besh-Parmak north of lake Anava (Adji-Tuz-Göl Ch. VII).

But this is quite irreconcilable with the words of Nicetas, who mentions Antiocheia, Tralleis, and the sea in the same connexion. Moreover Besh-Parmak, though on the map it is shown near lake Anava, is really quite away from the road, and overhangs Baklan-Ova. Tomaschek's work is most valuable and instructive; but shows occasionally errors due to want of actual witness and sometimes even serious misconceptions of the relative situation of places.



coins<sup>1</sup>, while the inner country became steadily more important. Finally at the reorganization of Diocletian Aphrodisias became the metropolis of Caria<sup>2</sup>. According to Stephanus it originally bore the names of *Lelegopolis*, *Megalopolis*, and *Ninoe*; and the last name was preserved in the priesthood of Zeus Nineudios (p. 154).

PLARASA and TAUROPOLIS seem to have been two small towns of the district which were incorporated in Aphrodisias. Plarasa struck coins, alone and in alliance with Aphrodisias. Tauropolis gave rise to the christianized form *Stauropolis*, which became the official name of Aphrodisias in the Byzantine lists. Tauropolis, Plarasa, and Chrysaoris (a Carian city founded by the Lycians) are said by Stephanus<sup>3</sup> to have maintained a federation with each other. The form Tauropolis is used by Constantine *de Them.* I 14.

We hear of games Gordiana Attaleia at Aphrodisias (CIG 2801). Perhaps these were founded by a person named Attalos (the name was common at Aphrodisias); but it is possible that they were an old institution of the Pergamenian period. There are many signs that a revival of national feeling, and rejuvenescence of pre-Roman institutions and customs, characterized the Asian cities in the third century. This healthy feeling was produced by the freedom of municipal government, and was killed by the centralized autocracy of the later empire.

There is in the possession of Mr. Purser at Azizie a sun-dial, which was found at Aphrodisias close to the great temple about the middle of its southern side. The stand has a dedication to Caracalla, which puts the date of its erection 211-7 A.D.

The close connexion between Attouda and Aphrodisias is exemplified in the history of a highly distinguished family of Attouda, which is gathered from its records and from inscriptions of Aphrodisias (CIG 2782, 2783). The earliest known member of it is Karminios Claudianus, Asiarch in the early part of the second century. His son, of the same name, was *logistes* at Cyzicos (an office that was held by *consulares*), and treasurer of the *Koinon Asias*<sup>4</sup>; and he married Flavia Apphia, high-

<sup>1</sup> W. R. Paton pointed this out to me. He was struck with the fact that almost all coins offered to him for sale on the coast were early: in the interior almost all are late.

<sup>2</sup> The earliest definite and positive proof that Aphrodisias was metropolis of Caria<sup>5</sup> is CIG 2712, which dates perhaps A.D. 423.

<sup>3</sup> s. v. *Χρυσαορίς*. Part (and probably the whole) of his account is quoted

from the *Carica* of Apollonius of Aphrodisias: Caria as a whole was, as he says, sometimes styled Chrysaoris. See M. Waddington's note on 594.

<sup>4</sup> The term *ἀργυροταμίης Ἀσίας*, which occurs only here, seems to denote one of the *ἀρχιερεῖς Ἀσίας*, who had charge of the common treasury: that he was *ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας* follows from the fact that his wife was *ἀρχιέρεια Ἀσίας*. Hence I identify this person, second of



priestess of Asia (daughter of Flavius Athenagoras an imperial procurator). Their children were M. Flavius Karminios Athenagoras Livianus and — Karminios —. The former entered the imperial service, and rose in the senatorial *cursus honorum* to the rank of (praetorian) proconsul of Lycia-Pamphylia<sup>1</sup> early in the third century; while the latter was priest of Meter Adrastos at Attouda. Athenagoras Livianus had four children, who of course had their father's rank; and the greatest compliment to — Karminios — was to style him 'uncle of four persons of senatorial rank.' A coin of Antoninus (138-61) reads Μ·ΟΥΛ·ΚΑΡΜΙΝΙΟC·ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΟC·ΥΙ·]ΟC·ΤΟΥ·ΔΗ[ΜΟΥ·Α]ΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ·ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ: it is uncertain whether this is the first or the second of the family, probably the latter. It was certainly the second who introduced the water of the Timeles into Aphrodisias by means of an aqueduct. In honour of this important event, the city struck coins with the legend ΤΙΜΕΛΗC, which belong, as M. Waddington writes to me, to the age of the Antonines. The name could not be put on coins of the city until the aqueduct was made, for the river does not belong to the territory of Aphrodisias, but to that of Herakleia Salbake (see next section).

One unpublished inscription of Aphrodisias may be added here as illustrating its relations with Attouda.

72. (R. 1884). Αὐρ. Διονύσιον [Διονυσίου] τοῦ Τα[τιανοῦ] τοῦ Δημη[τρίου] τοῦ Πε[ρίτου], παῖδα τῶν [εὖ γεγον]ότων, τε[λευτήσ]αντα προ[μοίρως], ἀσύνκρι[τον γενό]μενον [περὶ τὴν] πλαστι[κὴν τέχ]νην· τοῦ [Διονύσο]υ τοῦ Σω[τήρος··] Λ — Ο — Ι [· · · · · ἡ] κρατίστη [Πλαρα]σαίων [πόλις δι' Α]ὐρ. Οὐ· · λι· · · · · τυ· ου[s· ποιησαμέ]νου δὲ [τὴν νκατ]ασκευ[ὴν κατ' ἐπί]τα[ξιν] [τοῦ τεθνηκό]τος<sup>2</sup>. παῖδα τῶν εὖ γεγονότων Attouda no. 70. We find also the phrase ἄνδρα τῶν εὖ γεγονότων at Aphrodisias (Waddington 1609a after a bad copyist).

Liermann's *Analecta Epigraphica et Agonistica* contains a detailed and valuable study of the epigraphy and institutions of Aphrodisias.

10. HERAKLEIA SALBAKE was situated at Makuf on the southern slope of M. Salbakos, in the valley of Tabai. The site was proved by

the family, with the one mentioned as Asiarch on the coin quoted on p. 166. Compare the γραματεὺς (sic!) in no. 26.

<sup>1</sup> M. Clerc, who published an inscription mentioning the two brothers, BCH 1887 p. 351, has misunderstood the term which is there used, Lycia-Pamphylia-Isauria. In *Hist. Geogr.* p. 376 it is pointed out that Isauria is added merely

to cumulate dignity, on the ground that a small tract of Isauria was included in the province Pamphylia.

<sup>2</sup> The suggestions in the second half of this inscription are very uncertain, especially the name Plarasa. There is probably nothing lost at the end, and certainly not more than nine or ten letters could have been on the stone after -τος.



M. Waddington; and further evidence was discovered by Sterrett in May 1884, and by MM. Paris and Holleaux soon afterwards. The river Timeles flowed through the territory of the city: it was a tributary of the Harpasos. Coins of Herakleia mention the name ΤΙΜΕΛΗC. The river is also mentioned on coins and inscriptions of Aphrodisias, and the unusual fact that cities of different valleys mention the same river has caused many errors<sup>1</sup>. The facts are as follows. The Timeles rises in the high pass which separates the valley of Aphrodisias (1700 feet) from that of Herakleia and Tabai, which is fully 1000 feet higher. The water supply at Aphrodisias was bad; and in the second century M. Ulpius Karminius Claudianus made an aqueduct to bring water from the high-lying springs of the Timeles to the city. M. Waddington considers that the Timeles was 'a small watercourse which traversed also the territory of Aphrodisias'; but this does not correspond to the facts.

73. The following inscription may perhaps be restored to Herakleia. It is published in *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 p. 278, and in *Mous. Smyrn.* no. υγ'; as of Tralleis. Ἀδραστος Ἀδρά[σ]του τοῦ Ἀδράστο[υ] Δαμάλων ἱερὸς νεικᾷ τὴν τρίτην περίοδον τῶν Χαρ-μιδείων παίδων πανκράτιον ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Πο. Αἰλ(ίου) Λουκιλιανοῦ Διονυσίου ἐπιμεληθέντος τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος Ἀδράστου τοῦ (Ἀδράστου) τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. The sense of Δαμάλων is obscure; it probably agrees with the preceding genitives, and means that Adrastos Damalos was the name of both father and grandfather. On ἱερὸς see Ch. IV § 9 and no. 38. The present case is important as showing that a *hieros* might be a citizen of good family.

The name Charmides was very common at Herakleia, and was borne there by persons of high position. We find a father and a son of the name, each of whom was prytanis and stephanephoros (BCH 1885 p. 337). Other persons of rank named Charmides occur CIG 3953 b, Wadd. 1698 *bis*. Hence it is probable that the games Charmideia were an institution of that city. It is uncertain where the inscription was found. An inscription in honour of a victor at these games may have been erected in his own city, as well as in the city where they were held; but the want of any ethnic seems to show that Adrastos was a citizen of the city where the games were held. It seems therefore probable that the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. G. Hirschfeld has got rid of all difficulty. Defiant of geography he has boldly made the Timeles flow from Herakleia to Aphrodisias; and it is so represented on the map accompanying his account of his explorations. He actually traversed the high-lying pass

that separates the two cities, and represents this fictitious river as flowing beside his line of march. Apparently he had not made sufficiently careful observations on his journey; and afterwards in his study he excogitated the river on the evidence of the coins.



inscription has been brought from Herakleia to the railway<sup>1</sup>. The name Adrastos was also very common at Herakleia; but was equally favoured at Aphrodisias, Attouda, and Trapezopolis.

11. The other cities of the valley of TABAI are Tabai, still retaining its name (in the old accusative form) as Davas, and APOLLONIA-Salbake at Medet. M. Waddington first fixed the site of Apollonia, and MM. Paris and Holleaux, not observing this, have again repeated some of the reasons which led him to this view BCH 1885 p. 343, where they published several inscriptions of the city (one mentions a body of four archons). The office *stephanephoros* existed at Apollonia, and probably in all cities of this district.

Further east than Apollonia, in a small valley surrounded by mountains, lie the ruins of SEBASTOPOLIS beside Kizilje. Its site was determined first by Schönborn, then again by Sterrett, and finally by MM. Paris and Holleaux. The original name of Sebastopolis is unknown. In the *Notitiae*, the city is not mentioned under that name, and probably its native Phrygian or Carian name had revived. Perhaps either Tapassa or Anotetarte should be identified with it<sup>2</sup>. Sebastopolis was the extreme city of the *conventus* of Alabanda on this side.

## APPENDIX III.

### THE LYDO-PHRYGIAN FRONTIER.

1. BRIOULA. Its situation may be inferred from Strabo (p. 650), who mentions Brioula, Mastaura, Akharaka as towns worthy of note near Nysa on the north side of the Maeander: Akharaka was west, therefore Brioula was east, of Mastaura<sup>3</sup>. Brioula was in the *conventus* of Ephesos (Pliny V 120); and the Maeander seems to have been the boundary between the *conventus* of Alabanda and Ephesos. These reasons place Brioula between Mastaura (now called Mastavro, about three miles north from Nazli Bazar) and Ortakche (Ch. I § 1); and in this situation is

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<sup>1</sup> In *Mous. Sm.* the stone is said to have come from the station Omurlu, west of Tralleis. A remarkable example of an inscription carried far on the railway is found in CIL III 7148. I have known a very large pillar carried a distance of eleven hours to a stonecutter's yard in Kutaya. I have also copied in Afiom-Kara-Hissar an inscription on a large square block, which had

been brought from Synnada, six hours distant. This stone has since been brought to Smyrna, though Kara-Hissar is about forty-five hours from the railway.

<sup>2</sup> Tapassa, however, seems to suit Gordiou-Teichos better.

<sup>3</sup> I take the enumeration as being in strict geographical order. Strabo was familiar with this country § 5.



a village now called Billara (near the railway station, Kuyujak), which retains the old name in a slightly modified form<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Hogarth, who visited the site in 1887, reported ruins without inscriptions. On coins of Brioula ΜΗΤΗΡ·ΘΕΩΝ and ΗΛΙΟΣ are mentioned, in whom we recognize the same divine pair as at Hierapolis, the Mother and the Son.

2. TRIPOLIS. Above the junction with the Lycos the Maeander was generally taken as the limit between Lydia and Phrygia for a considerable distance. Overhanging the Maeander on the west (see p. 4), on the outermost slope of the northern hills, was situated the city of Tripolis, geographically included in the cleft which we call the Lycos valley, yet historically always a city of Lydia. It was included in the *conventus* of Sardis. Ptolemy and Stephanus place it in Caria; but an inscription, which shows the late lettering of the third century, calls it Maeonian Tripolis and proves that the inhabitants assigned it to Lydia.

74 (R. 1883: published by M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 378 with less complete text).

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ.

Εἰκὼν Ἑρμολάοιο, τὸν ἡέξησε πάρος μὲν

Μαιονίῃ Τρίπολις, Ῥώμης δ' ἐνικάθθετο βουλῇ.

Εἰ δὲ θέλεις γενεὴν καὶ ἐπήρατα ἔργα [πυ]θ[έσ]θαι,

Μάρτυρες ἐνναέται πόλιος καὶ δώματα κλεινά.

M. Imhoof-Blumer now attributes to Tripolis coins nos. 423-5 in his *Griechische Münzen*, which have the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ and a lion, or Apollo, or an Amazon on horseback, in every case standing on a Maeander, as the reverse type. The type of a horseman on 425 is identical with that on coins of Tripolis struck under Augustus. Previously he attributed these coins to Apollonia of Caria; but it seems hardly safe to suppose that that city would see the Maeander type on coins merely because it was on a tributary of the Maeander, viz. the Harpasos; moreover these coins do not resemble the certain coins of Apollonia Salbake. It might indeed be suggested that Apollonos-Hieron struck these coins: the agreement with Tripolis in type is natural in a neighbouring city. We might suppose that it struck originally under the name Apollonia, and adopted the longer name under Augustus for the sake of distinction from the numerous other cities Apollonia. The point is a difficult one; but for the present it is perhaps safer to defer to the great experience of M. Imhoof-Blumer, and follow his opinion as the more probable<sup>2</sup>.

The name Apollonia is specially common among the colonies planted

<sup>1</sup> My friend, Mr. E. Purser, told me of this survival in 1881.

<sup>2</sup> The situation led me to think that

Tripolis was a Pergamenian foundation before M. Imhoof-Blumer communicated his view to me.



by the Pergamenian kings<sup>1</sup>; and probably Tripolis was a Pergamenian foundation, intended to counterbalance the Seleucid colony Laodiceia. Both are situated on the road from Pergamos to the Pamphylian coast, which must have been an extremely important road while Pergamos was the ruling centre of western Asia Minor. The prosperity of Tripolis was naturally greater under Pergamenian rule, but dwindled when the roads radiating from Pergamos lost their importance; whilst Laodiceia, as situated on the Eastern Highway, profited by the losses of its rival. Perhaps the Romans, in drawing the limit of the Cibyric *conventus* at the frontier between Laodiceia and Tripolis, had regard to the mutual jealousy of the two cities. In arranging their *conventus*, as Strabo p. 629 says, they paid no regard to divisions of race; and there must have been some other reason why two cities in full view of one another were assigned to different *conventus*.

The inscription  $\text{IEPATIKO}\Sigma$  on coins of Tripolis under Augustus is remarkable<sup>2</sup>. It seems, according to analogy, to mean 'belonging to a priestly family'; and it perhaps implies that the priesthood of Leto and Apollo was hereditary in a certain family. If so, we may compare this priesthood with what we have learned about the priesthood of Laodiceia Ch. II §§ 5 and 7 (a).

Pliny mentions that Tripolis adopted the name Antoniopolis, which shows that, when Antony rewarded the fidelity of the Zenonids of Laodiceia, he did not wholly neglect Tripolis; and the city in gratitude for his favour took his name.

Nothing is known of the history of Apollonia-Tripolis-Antoniopolis. It worshipped the same goddess Leto, whom we have seen at Hierapolis Ch. III § 3; and we may safely conclude that it was formed out of a union of three villages ( $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ ) of the original population of the valley<sup>3</sup>. Thus we find games  $\Lambda\text{HT}\Omega\epsilon\iota\alpha \cdot \Pi\text{Y}\Theta\iota\alpha$  at Tripolis, as at Hierapolis, and the type of Serapis (with legend  $\text{ZEY}\Sigma \cdot \text{CEPA}\Pi\text{IC}$ ), while that of Zeus Laodiceus is common to both cities along with Laodiceia. Coins com-

<sup>1</sup> The situation on the extreme outer gentle slope, where lofty hills begin to rise up from the plain, is of the Pergamenian type (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 86). Prof. G. Hirschfeld first pointed out that the names Apollonis and Apollonia were favoured in Pergamenian foundations (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1888 p. 592). Apollonis was mother of Eumenes.

<sup>2</sup> We find the epithet accompanying the name Tryphon on a coin in Br. Mus. with the type of Zeus standing. Another

coin, which shows a hero on horseback l. above a maeander (cp. Imhoof-Blumer GM no. 425), has the epithet without a name; but perhaps the legend is imperfect.

<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that the name Derebol is still in use, but it indicates, not a village, but a pass (*dere*) by which one of the roads to Geune goes up from the valley northwards. Was Tripolis an old native name, grecized in this form to give a meaning in Greek?



memorate an alliance with the latter city, which is represented by its Zeus, while Tripolis is symbolized by its goddess Leto (styled on coins  $\Lambda\text{HT}\Omega \cdot \text{ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ}$ )<sup>1</sup>.

In 1243 an interview took place at Tripolis between the Emperor John Vatatzes and the Sultan Kai-Khosru Azeddin; and an alliance was made between them. Acropolita mentions that a temporary wooden bridge was thrown over the Maeander by the Turks<sup>2</sup>. Vatatzes retired by way of Philadelphiea.

The long resistance of Tripolis to the Turkish conquest, and its capture by stratagem about 1300 has been described in Ch. I § 11. The site became deserted soon after. This was probably due to the superior attractions presented by the 'New-Village' (Yeni-Keui), where water is far more easily supplied, while Tripolis needs much more elaborate works to conduct water to it.

A little way up the Maeander valley from Tripolis are hot springs on the right bank of the river. The water is described by Hamilton as being very hot<sup>3</sup>; and Arundel, who describes this 'ancient circular bath,' says that he 'tried the heat and found it 108° F.; but perhaps in the centre, where the spring spouted up, much more<sup>4</sup>.' About six miles further up the Maeander on the left bank is Dede-Keui, whose name marks it as the bearer of religious veneration from old time<sup>5</sup>.

3. APOLLONOS-HIERON. About the situation and history of this city hardly anything is known. It was in the *conventus* of Sardis, as was Tripolis. It struck coins with the type of Zeus of Laodiceia. It was conjoined in one bishopric with Aetos; and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa passed through Aetos on his march from Philadelphiea to Laodiceia in A.D. 1190<sup>6</sup>. This naturally suggests that the name Aetos denotes some 'fort commanding the pass across the mountains' between the valleys of the Cogamos and the Lycos<sup>7</sup>. Now near the southern end of the pass, in the same valley as Tripolis and about six miles due west of that city, lies the modern Bulladan or Bullandánn<sup>8</sup>, a manufacturing town of some importance, seat of a kaimmakam, corresponding naturally to some ancient city, and retaining the ancient name Apollonieron, just

<sup>1</sup> On the coins struck by Theodorus with the legend  $\epsilon\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha(\xi\epsilon) \text{ Τριπολ}(\acute{\iota}\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma)$  see p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Acropol. p. 75, Greg. p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> I 526. I have not visited these springs.

<sup>4</sup> *The Seven Churches* p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> See my paper on the permanent

attachment of religious veneration to special localities in Asia Minor.

<sup>6</sup> Nicetas p. 539,  $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha} \text{ τοῦ } \text{Ἀετοῦ} \text{ χώρου} \text{ λεγομένου πορευθέντες.}$

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. Geogr.* p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> This form with *nd* instead of simple *d* is often heard, especially among the Greeks; see p. 184.



as Abulliont in Mysia retains the old name Apollonia<sup>1</sup>. It is natural that these two neighbouring cities should be in the same *conventus*.

It is probable that careful examination of Bulladan might discover remains of Apollonos-Hieron (or Apollonieron) in the town or the neighbourhood<sup>2</sup>.

There must have been a notable *hieron* of Apollo near this city. The Apollo who was worshipped there was, of course, the same god that was worshipped at Hierapolis, Ch. III. But Apollonos-Hieron is a Greek name: what was the native name? It is possible that it was Hyllouala, where the hero Hyllos was killed, and a temple of Apollo was built<sup>3</sup>. Hyllos was especially a Lydian hero; and, though Stephanus says Hyllouala was a demos of Caria, yet that is quite reconcilable with the situation of Apollonos-Hieron<sup>4</sup>. On the *hieron* see p. 179.

4. The MYSOMAKEDONES are mentioned only by Pliny V 120 and Ptolemy V 2, 15. The former says that they were in the *conventus* of Ephesos, and the latter that they were one of the *demoi* of Mysia. The difficulty of reconciling these two statements formerly led me to discredit Pliny and to follow Ptolemy (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 118)<sup>5</sup>; but I now see that it is quite possible to accept both, if we bear in mind what Strabo says p. 628-9 about the interlacing of the bounds of the Lydians and the Mysians and the difficulty of distinguishing accurately between them<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The difference of accent explains the difference as to the first syllable. Apollonos-Hieron lost the initial *a*, because the second syllable bears the accent, and the initial syllable is therefore in the weakest position; but Apollonia retains it, because in *modern* Greek the form would be Apollónya, where the initial syllable bears a secondary accent.

<sup>2</sup> In 1883 Sterrett and I visited Bulladan; but we were immediately stopped by the governor, and sent to the frontier under charge of a policeman.

<sup>3</sup> Stephanus quotes from Apollonius *Karika* V ἔδος ἐνταῦθα ἐδείμαντο Ἀπόλλωνος.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy puts Tripolis in Caria (cp. Ch. II § 1). *Den namen "Υλλος hielten die Alten für einen Lydischen*, Paus. I 35, 6, Schol. II. 24, 616; *vgl. den Ζεὺς "Υλλος einer Karischen Inschrift*, *Bull. d. Instit.* 1853 p. 143, Preller-Plew *Griech.*

*Mythol.* II 280. Compare what is said of the name Hyalos or Kyalos on p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> I omitted to formally quote Ptolemy, leaving my argument rather obscure. M. Radet *de Coloniis Macedonum in Asiam deductis* p. 29 has since discussed the Mysomakedones, and, while he rightly rebukes my error, he has not given full weight to the passages of Ptolemy and of Strabo bearing on this point, and his argument does not appear to me conclusive. He places the Mysomakedones at Bulladan (where we have recognized Apollonos-Hieron). The passage of Ptolemy is quoted below.

<sup>6</sup> He explains the reason of this difficulty p. 579; it was not that doubt existed as to the individual states, whether they were Lydian or Mysian; but that one found Lydian states and Mysian states in the same district. Hence on p. 629 he speaks of them running into one another (*παραπίπτοντα εἰς ἄλληλα*).



Now Strabo entertains doubts as to whether the Katakekaumene was Mysian or Maeonian, but he has no doubts about Philadelphiea: it was a city of the Mysians<sup>1</sup>. It follows, therefore, that there was a district containing Philadelphiea and probably some other places which was reckoned by Strabo to Mysia, although separated by the Katakekaumene from the mass of Mysia.

Further, Strabo declares that the long mountain-ridge extending from Kelainai to Mykale (which is called in at least part of its extent Messogis) is Phrygian on the east, Mysian and Lydian in the centre, Carian and Ionian on the west. He therefore understood that a certain district extending from this ridge north as far as Philadelphiea, was inhabited by a Mysian people. There must have been some reason why, in a country where boundaries were so vague, this region should be so positively and emphatically reckoned to Mysia; and the reason probably is that the people called themselves Mysians<sup>2</sup>. In this neighbourhood then we should look for the Mysomakedones; and the agreement of Strabo and Ptolemy on a point which is at first sight so improbable guarantees its correctness. We cannot place the Mysomakedones north of Philadelphiea, for it is plain that Philadelphiea was the frontier place of the Mysians, and that all beyond it to the north-west towards Sardis was Lydian. We must therefore go further south. Again we cannot look for them on the south-east in the Kogamis valley<sup>3</sup>, for the line of road which connected Tripolis with Philadelphiea and Sardis must be considered as belonging to the *conventus* of Sardis; and the Mysomakedones, who went to Ephesos for the assizes, must lie west of that road. We must therefore look for them due south or south-west of Philadelphiea on a road communicating with Ephesos. This consideration brings us to the Uzum-Ovasi (Grape-Valley) and the line of road connecting it with the Cayster valley. So far as I can learn, there is no very suitable situation on the road for a city except in or close to the Uzum-Ovasi; and we may therefore expect that the Macedonian colonists were posted on this line of road by the Seleucid kings, and that their centre was in the high-lying Uzum-Ova. In this position their duty was to guard the lines of communication between the Lycos valley on the one side and the Cayster and Hermos valleys on the other. Now we have already seen that Apollonos-Hieron

<sup>1</sup> μετὰ δὲ Λυδούς εἰσιν οἱ Μυσοὶ καὶ πόλις Φιλαδέλφεια p. 628.

<sup>2</sup> This is an excellent example of the persistence of different peoples, characterized by different customs, in the same district. So, in one valley at the present day, you may find Circassians, Turks,

Yuruks, and Turkmen dwelling in separate villages, never intermarrying, and all retaining their distinct dress and manners. See on this subject Ch. I § 13.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny calls the river Cogamus, but a coin belonging to Mr. Lawson of Smyrna reads ΚΟΓΑΜΙC.



was in the same bishopric with Aetos, and that the latter was a fortress guarding a pass which communicated with the Kogamis valley (§ 3). Now there exist two roads between the Kogamis valley and the Lycos valley, one passing by the Derbent-Boghaz and going straight to Tripolis, the other making a detour by the Uzum-Ova and going to Bulladan<sup>1</sup> (Apollonos-Hieron). There are two reasons that might lead us to take Aetos as the mediaeval name of the Uzum-Ova. (1) The name might be brought by the Macedonian colonists from their own country, for we find a place Aetos on the frontiers of Macedonia and Thrace<sup>2</sup>; they might naturally give this national name to their stronghold. (2) The same identification is suggested by the passage of Nicetas p. 539 which mentions Aetos. He says that Frederick Barbarossa made his march from Philadelphieia to the Lycos valley by way of Aetos. Nothing happened on the march, so far as is recorded; and apparently the reason why Nicetas mentions Aetos is that it was not the usual and direct road by Derbent-Boghaz. Nicetas, a native of the Lycos valley, has great weight in all topographical questions of that neighbourhood; and in this case he knew that the line of march was unusual and records the fact.

Tomaschek, however, points out that Aetos is the modern Aidoz, which according to Kiepert's map lies east from Derbent-Boghaz on the road from the Kogamis valley to Geune; and this identification must be preferred. Barbarossa, as Nicetas implies, took a roundabout route by Aidoz in place of the direct path through the Boghaz. I have never traversed the district, and cannot speak as to the line of the road; but according to the map such a detour seems quite a possible one.

In this position, east of the road from Philadelphieia to Tripolis, Aetos cannot have been in the *conventus* of Ephesos, and cannot therefore be identified as a fortress of the Macedonian colonists. It is more likely to be a fort of the Thracian colonists who are described in § 5.

The reason now becomes plain why we cannot accept the suggestion of M. Radet<sup>3</sup> that the Mysomakedones were a later Greek colony of Mysian and Macedonian soldiers. We find that the population of the district was recognized generally as Mysian, though a belt of Lydians stretched across the Katakekaumene separating them from the mass of

<sup>1</sup> I do not mean that this is the only road from the Kogamis valley to Bulladan. There is also a direct communication through Derbent-Boghaz.

<sup>2</sup> Bryen. p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Buresch has the same idea in a paper in *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 heft I, which I have not had the opportunity of read-

ing owing to accidental delay in transmission. I saw the paper for a few minutes in London, and made one or two notes; but this Appendix has been written without the advantage I should doubtless have gained from him. No one has studied Lydian topography better than he.



the Mysian land. This interposed belt of Lydians must be explained as lying along the line of the 'Royal Road,' which once connected the Lydian capital with the east and was guarded by Lydian settlers along part of its course<sup>1</sup>. This belt cut off the southern Mysians; but the latter were still recognized as Mysians in the time of Strabo (and of the authority used by Ptolemy), and they termed themselves Mysians. Moreover it is well known that the Macedonian colonies were all Seleucid<sup>2</sup>, while Mysian colonists are known only as Pergamenian. A colony consisting of Macedonian and Mysian colonists is therefore a contradiction in terms. The Mysomakedones were a Macedonian colony planted by Seleucid kings among this tribe of Mysians, and the term is to be compared with Blaundeis-Makedones, Peltenoi-Makedones, Makedones-Kadoenoi, and many others.

The passage in which Ptolemy mentions the Mysomakedones is an important one. He enumerates certain tribes as belonging to Great Mysia, towards the north the Olympenoi, towards the west the Grimenothyritai, to whom belongs Trajanopolis, and towards the south the Pentademitai, and in an intermediate position the Mysomakedones<sup>3</sup>. The first two are known, for the Olympenoi are fixed by the Mysian Olympus, and the Grimenothyritai inhabited the country near Trajanopolis. The Pentademitai must be the population of the southern Banaz-Ova and the Tchal-Ova, and this explains Ptolemy's apparent omission of the towns of that district. The 'Five Demoi' are then, probably, the Mossyneis, Loundeis, Dionysopolitai, Hyrgaleis, and Motellenoi. We cannot reckon Sala among the five, as it is given by Ptolemy as a city of Phrygia; and the inconsistency that Sala should be reckoned to Phrygia and the Pentademitai to Mysia is explained by the use of different authorities in the two cases<sup>4</sup>.

When the Seleucid domination gave place to the Pergamenian in this

<sup>1</sup> It is however clear that Grimenothyra was Mysian in origin, according to Ptolemy.

<sup>2</sup> This is admitted by M. Radet *de coloniis Macedonum* p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> ἀρκτικώτεροι μὲν Ὀλυμπηνοί, δυσμικώτεροι δὲ Γριμενοθυρίται (MSS Τριμενοθυρίται, γρυμενοδοιρίται), ὧν ἐστὶν ἡ Τραιανόπολις, μεσημβρινώτεροι δὲ Πενταδημίται, μεταξύ δὲ Μυσομακέδονες V 2, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy's lists of *demoi*, e.g. V 2, 15 and 27, seem to be as a rule derived from one authority, a Greek authority, while his lists of cities are in many cases

founded on some Roman list. He makes various errors in using his Roman list, and these errors are apparently due in some cases to the fact that he took them from a map (similar to the ancient authority on which the original of the Peutinger Table was founded in the fourth century), and adapted them badly to the divisions of his own map. Pliny, on the other hand, who also uses both Roman and Greek geographical authorities, seems to have in various cases made extracts from Roman official lists of cities.



region, the Macedonian colony, firmly attached to the former, could not be suffered to remain in sole possession of the two roads from the Cayster and the Kogamis towards the Lycos. Especially the road from the Kogamis to the Lycos was a necessary element of the Pergamenian administration, for it was the chief route from Pergamos towards both the Pamphylian coast and the southern part of the plateau. Now we never find that the Pergamenian kings destroyed any of the Seleucid foundations. Their regular practice seems to have been to neutralize the power of the older settlements by making new ones in their own interest; and we may feel confident that they took steps to keep the Derbent-Boghaz route in the hands of a special settlement, confining the Macedonians to the Uzum-Ova. On the actual line of the road near the north end of the pass we find evidence that a settlement existed, see § 5.

5. KALLATÊBOS, KALLATABA. Kallatebos is mentioned by Herodotus on the march of Xerxes after crossing the Maeander, and before reaching Sardis. This naturally suggests that the Kallatebos lies in the Kogamis valley; and presumption seemed raised to a certainty by Hamilton's observation that the tamarisk tree, which gave the inhabitants of Kallatebos their staple industry<sup>1</sup>, is very abundant in the neighbourhood of Ine-Göl, but does not grow in the mountain-passes to the south-east<sup>2</sup>. These facts led me for a long time to believe (on the suggestion of some scholar whom I cannot remember) that Kallatebos was the old name of Philadelpheia<sup>3</sup>; but I should have done better to follow Hamilton and Kiepert in placing Kallatebos simply 'in the neighbourhood of Ine-Göl.' M. Radet copied in 1886 an inscription built into a fountain below Baharlar, a village near Ine-Göl, which probably contains the name. ἔτ]ους . . . τῆς Καίσαρος | νί]κ[ης, μὲν δὲ Π]ανήμου δ', οἱ κα . . . | . . . I K[αλλατ]άβοις ἐτείμησαν. The phrase preceding Καλλατάβοις is uncertain<sup>4</sup>; but the name is in all

<sup>1</sup> 'Extracting honey (saccharine matter) from the tamarisk and wheat' Hamilton II 374. *Addenda*.

<sup>2</sup> I may add that the valley of Tripolis, which Xerxes would traverse immediately after crossing the Maeander, is almost wholly treeless.

<sup>3</sup> By a slip of the pen I named Kallatebos instead of Kydrara as the ancient name of Hierapolis in my *Antiquities of Southern Phrygia* p. 7: I was not aware till recently that I had made this slip (which is so manifestly contrary to the simple and plain statement of Herodo-

tus). When I read the inferences which M. Radet draws from it in his *Lydie et le Monde Grec* p. 314, I thought at first that *he* was the victim of some strange hallucination about my view (for he gives no reference), until I found out my former slip. (On p. 15, l. 7, of the same paper I have said 'west' instead of 'east'; but I hope this slip will not lead any of my critics to condemn me for putting Brioula west of Mastaura.)

<sup>4</sup> M. Radet says la restitution οἱ κάτοι-κοι οἱ ἐν K. est trop longue; his alternative suggestion οἱ Kâρες οἱ ἐν K. seems



probability correctly restored. The text of the following lines is not certain <sup>1</sup>.

M. Radet takes Kallataboi as the name; but perhaps Kallataba is more probable, for that variation in the termination is common in names ending in -σος and -σα. He quotes Καῦστριανοί, Κιλβιανοί, Μοσσηνοί, as examples justifying Καλλάταβοι; but these are in my opinion ethnics, and not names of towns. Κάδοι is, perhaps, the only parallel.

As is shown in M. Radet's instructive study, the Anatolian *katoikiai* are to be generally understood as settlements of colonists. Now we have already concluded that a colony of mercenaries (τράλεις) was planted by the Pergamenian kings to command the pass across the Derbent-Boghaz, and we now find the inscription of these *katoikoi* (if M. Radet's restoration be a possible one) at the entrance to the pass. Here then we shall provisionally place Tralla<sup>2</sup>, understanding that the soldiers were settled in the territory of the ancient Kallataba and that this is the reason of the disappearance of the latter name from subsequent history. Tralla then was a Pergamenian counterpoise to the Seleucid Mysomakedones, and Sala to the Blaundeis-Makedones. See p. 179 f.

The Thracian name in the following inscription may probably be due to the introduction of this Thracian element into the Kogamis valley, [Ἀρτ]εμιδώρα Πλουτίωνος, [γυν]ῇ δὲ [Δ]ενδοῦπόρεως, χαῖρε<sup>3</sup>.

both inadmissible in itself (see § 4 of this Appendix) and too long for the space; and till the entire phrase is restored we cannot say that K[αλλατ]ά-βοις is quite certain. But my former suggestion οἱ κα[το]ικ[οὶ] αὐτῶν Πρωμ[α]ί[οι] is quite impossible. It appeared in M. S. Reinach's *Chronique d'Orient*; and was a mere hasty suggestion, which ought not to have been made. Perhaps the stone may have been of such a shape that the second or third line was longer than the others, which would permit M. Radet's first suggestion *κάτοικοι*.

<sup>1</sup> M. Radet himself says about his suggested text, '*ἄνδρα est plus que douteux: ὑμεῖν produit une anacoluthie difficilement admissible; peut-être ce mot, mal lu,*' &c. A second copy of a difficult text almost always reveals more than the first; and I wrote to M. Reinach 'hoping to draw the attention of the pupils of the École d'Athènes (to whom alone we can now look for systematic exploration in Asia Minor) to this im-

portant inscription.' But my letter was very long; M. Reinach only inserted in his *Chronique* a brief *résumé* of it. I regret exceedingly that some expressions were such as to wound M. Radet; but I believe that, if my words had appeared in their entirety, they would have had a different appearance. I still possess the original MS. letter (returned to me by M. Reinach); and it begins 'the situation assigned to Kallatebos is very probable.' I hope that M. Radet may have the opportunity of re-examining the stone himself.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps however it would be better to place Tralla at Aidoz, understanding that the Thracian mercenaries gave the Thraco-Illyrian name Aetos to their fortress. Probably an exploration of Aidoz might show that it commands the pass. In that case the territory assigned to these colonists would extend from Baharlar to Aidoz, which is quite a probable estimate.

<sup>3</sup> It is published very incorrectly



6. PHILADELPHIEIA changed its name for a short time to NEOCAESAREIA; and coins were struck under this name under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. They were formerly attributed to Neocaesareia of Pontus; but the names of municipal magistrates on them prove that they belong to some Asian city, and M. Imhoof-Blumer informs me by letter that he has definite evidence to refer them to Philadelphieia<sup>1</sup>. The name Neocaesareia occurs in an inscription of Antiocheia on the Maeander, recently published by Drs. Kubitschek and Reichel<sup>2</sup>, where it must denote an Asian city, obviously Philadelphieia.

Strabo assigns Philadelphieia to Mysia<sup>3</sup>, and it must therefore have been in a country where the population reckoned themselves to be Mysians. But the name shows that it was refounded as a Pergamenian city by Attalus Philadelphus; and we may attribute to these colonists the introduction of Thracian names, such as appear in the inscription quoted on p. 200.

## APPENDIX IV.

### THE SULLAN ERA.

THE view stated in my *Hist. Geogr.* p. 452 (cp. p. 442) that the use of the Sullan era (of which the first year was 85-4 B.C.) was confined to the upper country, i.e. Phrygia and Eastern Lydia, has not found favour. But the matter is one of fact, and not of argument as to what is probable or improbable. None of those who dissent from my view have brought the decisive argument against it, by quoting a case where it fails; and, as far as the existing evidence goes, the fact is as I have stated: in the upper country the era is extraordinarily common, and no other has been found. In the Lydian coast-valleys, other eras were in use; but no example of this era can be proved<sup>4</sup>. Thus in the coast-valleys we find

*Smyrn. Mous.* no. κθ'. It is now in a collection at Philadelphieia; but there seems to be no record whether it was found in the town, or brought from some place in the district.

<sup>1</sup> See also his *GM* p. 772. His letter was written in 1892. Dr. Buresch has independently reached the same conclusion as Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, see *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 heft I.

<sup>2</sup> See their *Bericht* in *Anzeiger Wien Akad.*

<sup>3</sup> μετὰ δὲ Λυδούς εἰσιν οἱ Μυσοὶ καὶ πόλις Φιλαδέλφεια p. 628.

<sup>4</sup> The Sullan era *perhaps* occurs once at Sardis Kaibel *Epigr. ex lapp.* 322, but the text belongs to Maeonia CIG 3440; once certainly at Philadelphieia *Mous. Sm.* no. υνγ', but the stone has been carried thither from Aizanoi (Wadd. 980). Near



three cases of the Actian era, one quoted p. 199 at Tralla<sup>1</sup>, one at Philadelpheia (*Wochenschr. f. Klass. Philol.* 1891 p. 1242, 1892 p. 22), and perhaps one in the Kaystros valley (Buresch *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 p. 125, *Ber. Sächs. Gesellsch.* 1892 p. 48 f, Kubitschek-Reichel *Wien. Akad. Anz.* Nov. 1893 p. 9).

It seems doubtful whether my critics have understood my position. Dr. Kubitschek (Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* s.v. *Aera* I p. 638) brings as arguments against me cases of the Sullan era at Trajanopolis and Diokleia; but these are in the strictest agreement with my statement<sup>2</sup>. One example quoted by him would be clear against me, if his interpretation is correct, an inscription of Teira dedicated to M. Aurelius Antoninus in the year 261, which gives on the Sullan era A.D. 176-7. But it seems quite possible that this city, like many in Syria, &c., would prefer to date by the era of Caesar's triumph 48 B.C., so that the inscription was dedicated in A.D. 213 to Caracalla. I see no reason to retract my statement (save in one respect, see below). Dr. Kubitschek says that I made my statement without proof. But I merely stated a fact: I have not found this era used beyond the area stated, and I now suspect that I allowed perhaps even too wide an area.

Why (my critics ask) should there be a special era used in Upper Lydia and Phrygia? I am not bound to explain that: I have shown that four different eras at least were used in different parts of Asia; and that fact cannot be denied; but it is not incumbent on me also to show why certain districts preferred the Actian era, and others the Asian 133 B.C. But it seems easy and natural to suppose that Sulla (or perhaps still more his pro-quaestor Lucullus) made far more changes in the upper country than in the coast-valleys. Moreover Phrygia Magna at least was precluded from using the Asian era 133, for it belonged to the Pontic kings long after that year<sup>3</sup>.

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Thyateira occur various dated inscriptions (Radet BCH 1887 pp. 470-2, 450-1), but their era remains uncertain. In nos. 10, 11, p. 450-1, either the transcription or the copy must be modified. Accepting as correct M. Radet's copy I should read 10 εἰρου(s) ργῆ and 11 εἰρου(s) σγῆ; M. Radet on the other hand changes his copy in his transcription of 10, and his text makes the era 85-4 impossible, while my reading leaves it possible and even probable. The form ΕΤΟΥ, indeed, is elsewhere unknown to me; but variations are common

in dating; and M. Radet's reading of 11 (Aur. Apollonides, anno 98) is not likely.

<sup>1</sup> Unless it ought to be dated from 48 B. C., see next paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> The era 'is confined to Phrygia and the eastern parts of Lydia.'

<sup>3</sup> In every eastern province where dates are frequent numerous eras were in use. Why should we assume that every uncertain era in Asia is the Sullan? It would be more scientific to take district by district, and seek in each for some determining inscription.



But the following theory is worth testing, and is now stated by me only to be tested and not as a principle on which any reasoning can be founded,—no states reckoned by the era whose first year was 85–4 B.C. except those which were either brought into the province or in some way remodelled in their administration in the summer of 84; and these states seem to be (1) the *conventus* of Apameia, Synnada and Philomelion; (2) *perhaps* Apollonia on the Rhyndacos, which had a strong Bithynian connexion and was afterwards added to Bithynia, and which therefore was *perhaps* first included in Asia by Sulla<sup>1</sup>; (3) the Cibyratic district, which was incorporated by Murena, might justly have used the Sullan era, but it adopted the era of A.D. 25; (4) perhaps the Katakekaumene, where an era which has hitherto been assumed by all (including myself) to be the Sullan was widely used: this will receive careful examination in a future chapter; at present I may say that, while most of the inscriptions are inconclusive (though several suit the Sullan era), the following seem to me to disprove the Sullan era (1) *Mous. Sm.* no.  $\tau\mu\epsilon'$  anno 215, dedication by Aur. Trophime: this requires a later date than 130–1 A.D. (Sullan era); (2) *Mous. Sm.*  $\tau\mu\delta'$ , anno 169, dedication by P. Aelius Theogenes: this calls for a later date than 84–5 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The era of the province Asia, properly speaking, was 133 B.C.; and this era was used on cistophori struck at Ephesos, Tralleis, Laodiceia, &c., and was therefore widely employed in the coast-valleys<sup>3</sup>. Further the era 133 B.C. was probably used at Themisonion; Laodiceia is not known to have used any other era than 133 B.C. or 123 A.D.; dates are not frequent in the *conventus* of Cibyra, but the era A.D. 25 was widely used around that city. On the other hand, as soon as we enter the Apamean *conventus* at Keretapa and in Tchal-Ova, the Sullan era is found.

<sup>1</sup> This is suggested to me by Prof. Mommsen as a possibility.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the Katakekaumene dated like Philadelpheia. Dr. Kubitschek has assumed (p. 639) that Philadelpheia used the Sullan era, but the case is now decided against him, and Dr. Buresch has proved that Philadelpheia used the Actian era. Moreover the inscription, dated by Kubitschek in A.D. 288, suits A.D. 341 better. See *Mous. Sm.*  $\nu\zeta\varsigma'$  ( $\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\gamma'\ \mu\eta\nu\delta\varsigma\ \Delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\ \delta'\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \text{'Αφροδείτης}$ ).

<sup>3</sup> Why M. Th. Reinach *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 161 should declare that the era 85–4 was used at Iasos, I fail to see. There is not the slightest analogy be-

tween the inscriptions of Iasos, and those which use the Lydo-Phrygian era; and as they contain nothing decisive we ought to be guided by the analogy of districts nearer Iasos. The era at Iasos is more likely to be 133 B.C. or 48 or 31 B.C., which were used in nearer regions. In favour of the latter the inscription given in *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 p. 107 may be quoted,  $\text{Καίσαρος Νίκης}$ : the same phrase is used in an inscription dated by Caesar's era App. III § 5. This reason is far from conclusive, but it furnishes at least a presumption in favour of the Iasian era as 31 or 48 B.C.; but 133 B.C. is on other grounds perhaps more probable.



I shall be glad to be corrected by any critic. The subject is obscure ; but, if it is investigated methodically without a foregone conclusion in favour of one era, some important results may yet be discovered. I have no prejudice in favour of the view I have stated ; and I do not venture to draw any inferences from it.

One point more remains : what was the day of the ‘ New Year ’ in the Lydo-Phrygian calendar ? In the Asian calendar, as used in the coast-valleys, New Year’s Day was 23 Sept., IX Kal. Octob. Was the Lydo-Phrygian usage similar ? I would suggest that, before we answer in the affirmative, we should consider whether 1 Aug. may not perhaps be right <sup>1</sup>. It will be convenient to compare the two systems in a table—

<i>The Month</i>	<i>in the Asian system runs</i>					<i>in the supposed Lydo-Phrygian system is</i>		
1 Dios	23 Sept.	to	23 Oct.	containing	31 days	August	containing	31 days
2 Apellaïos	24 Oct.	„	22 Nov.	„	30 „	September	„	30 „
3 Audna	23 Nov.	„	23 Dec.	„	31 „	October	„	31 „
4 Peritios	24 Dec.	„	23 Jan.	„	31 „	November	„	30 „
5 Dystros	24 Jan.	„	20 Feb.	„	28 „	December	„	31 „
6 Xanthos	21 Feb.	„	23 March	„	31 „	January	„	31 „
7 Artemisios	24 March	„	22 April	„	30 „	February	„	28 „
8 Daisios	23 April	„	23 May	„	31 „	March	„	31 „
9 Panemos	24 May	„	22 June	„	30 „	April	„	30 „
10 Loos	23 June	„	23 July	„	31 „	May	„	31 „
11 Gorpiai	24 July	„	23 Aug.	„	31 „	June	„	30 „
12 Hyperberetaïos	24 Aug.	„	22 Sept.	„	30 „	July	„	31 „

I have tried the following tests ; some are indecisive ; but these may suggest to critics others which I have not observed.

(1) As was pointed out by M. Waddington on no. 980, the first year of the Sullan era had begun before Aug. 31, B.C. 85.

(2) The fifth month of the Lydo-Phrygian year had at least 30 days, CIG 3896 (recopied by me in 1884). This suits the supposed Lydo-Phrygian year, but not the Asian system.

(3) The proconsul Paullus Fabius Maximus c. 6 B.C. seems to have tried to introduce the Asian year at Apameia and Eumeneia (and probably in the whole of Phrygia), as we see from fragmentary inscriptions CIG 3957, *Ath. Mitth.* XVI pp. 235, 283, BCH 1893 p. 315. In one part of the monument at Apameia which commemorated this attempt, a list of months with their duration was given. The eleventh and twelfth months are marked with 30 and 31 days respectively ; now in the Asian year these months had 31 and 30 days. Is this public inscription wrong on

<sup>1</sup> In *Hist. Geogr.* p. 442 I wrongly suggested 1 July. I ought to have seen that a loyal year must begin either on 1 August or on 23 Sept.



such an important point, or did Fabius modify the Asian year to suit the local usage<sup>1</sup>?

(4) Dios had 31 days<sup>2</sup>, which suits either view; and moreover it is more probable that the inscription lies beyond the sphere of the Lydo-Phrygian era.

(5) 6 Daisios was styled Sebaste (Wadd. 1676), i.e. it was a feast day of Augustus. This suits either view: in the usual view it is 28 April, on which day Augustus dedicated the Temple of Peace: in the latter it is 6 March, when Augustus assumed the title *Pontifex Maximus*. Both are holidays in the Calendar.

(6) Daisios had at least 30 days, which suits either view<sup>3</sup>.

(7) Hyperberetaios had at least 30 days, which suits either view *Mous. Sm. no. τιζ'*.

I am not insisting on a theory; but quoting facts, which must be explained before we can say that the subject is fully understood. It is important that in this obscure subject every step should be carefully scrutinized, and nothing should be assumed.

## APPENDIX V.

### HIEROCLES'S LYDIAN LIST.

IN my *Historical Geography*, it is argued that numerous difficulties in Hierocles's lists are easily explicable on the supposition (advanced by Wesseling, and rejected by all recent scholars) that he founded his work on a list of bishoprics, which he adapted freely for his own special purpose. My chief line of argument was that many of the cities which he omits are such as would also be omitted in a list of bishoprics. I found in Lydia an exception, and concluded that in this province 'the connexion between Hierocles and the ecclesiastical lists is not nearly so close, if it does exist, as in Asia.' Hierocles omits Sala, Blaundos, Stratonicea, Daldis, and Hyrkanoi; and I erred in attempting to explain the omission as due to a fault in MSS. I shall now show ground for thinking that some at least of these five were likely to be omitted

<sup>1</sup> If there is an error, it is more intelligible on the supposition that the engraver put numbers which he was familiar with in local usage. If there is no error, then there must be some reason for varying from the regular Asian year.

<sup>2</sup> See BCH 1887 p. 472, where a slight correction is needed: read

μη(νὸς) Δείου [λ]α'.

<sup>3</sup> See the much-discussed inscription of Koloe, found in Kara-Tash district, and now in Koula. Wagener read A (first day); but I copied the text in 1881 and again in 1884 (investigating this point carefully), and A also is rightly read in *Mous. Sm. no. σνζ'*. Perhaps (6) and (7) are outside the Sullan area.



in a list of bishoprics, because they were included in the same bishoprics with other cities. In proportion as this is made probable, the dependence of Hierocles on an ecclesiastical authority is also made probable.

(1) The union of Sala and Tralla in a single bishopric was already suggested in *Hist. Geogr.* p. 122<sup>1</sup>.

(2) Blaundos and Mesotimolos are united in *Notitia* XIII. The other *Notitiae* mention them side by side except the *Nova Tactica* which gives Blaundos and omits Mesotimolos, and X which gives Mesotimolos and omits Blaundos.

(3) Stratonikaia is omitted by VIII and De Boor's *Notitia* (the two earliest forms we possess for Lydia), also by XIII. In X the proper text is, as I think, ὁ Στρατονικείας ἦτοι Καλάνδου ἦτοι [Να]κερασέων (where Parthey makes a new bishopric . . . . ἦτοι Κερασέων). The close proximity of all three is established, and the *Notitiae* regularly put Stratonikaia and Nakrasa (Kerasa *Hist. Geogr.* p. 126) side by side. It is, however, certain that in the fifth century Stratonikaia and Nakrasa had separate bishops.

(4) Daldis is omitted by VIII. It is placed next Hierocaesareia in all *Notitiae* except XXIII which gives it between Apollonis and Attaleia. The situation has been discussed in Ch. V § 11. A union with Apollonos-Hieron is suggested there; but in the fifth century certainly they were separate.

(5) Hyrkanoi and Mostenoi were certainly close beside one another and closely connected with each other (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 124). They are both mentioned in all *Notitiae*, side by side; but there can be no doubt that in the fifth century they were separate bishoprics.

The theory which I have suggested, therefore, cannot be accepted in our present state of knowledge. But I think that the principle is worth investigation, as I believe that it will yet be found to explain many difficulties and to be of great importance. But evidence is too scanty at present.

In Phrygia we find that, if Hierocles's authority was an ecclesiastical list, it must have been one in which the double bishoprics were expressed in full detail, whereas in Lydia he used one in which the double bishoprics were described by the name of one city only. It is quite certain that both methods of naming occur in the *Notitiae*; but the briefer style is much commoner. It is also certain that some *Notitiae* have erroneously divided double bishoprics and given them as two separate bishoprics. Prakana and

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<sup>1</sup> In the lists of Conc. Nicaen. II A. D. 787 we find Stephanus Σάλων, who is taken by Le Quien (and I think rightly) as bishop of Satala. Michael Τράλλης once appears as Στάλλης, which may be an alteration of Σάλλης.



Diocaesareia of Isauria appear thus in De Boor's *Notitia*; and Prymnessos-Akroenos is probably another example<sup>1</sup>. There were therefore in existence lists in which the double bishoprics were fully named; and it is my hypothesis that Hierocles's authorities varied in the different provinces. He had a much better list in Phrygia Pacatiana than in Lydia. In some provinces, e.g. Hellespontus and Bithynia, he possessed knowledge beyond what could be found in a mere *Notitia*, while in others, e.g. Isauria and Pontus, he was slavishly dependent on them. The hypothesis that he used an official list of cities, arranged according to administrative purposes, is wholly inadequate to explain the facts. It ought to disappear from works on the subject; but so long as the existing low standard of knowledge about Asia Minor continues, it is likely to hold its ground on Parthey's authority. Whether the theory held by Wesseling (in support of which I have advanced some arguments) be right or not, the idea that Hierocles took a complete official list of all the cities and cut out a number of them seems to me simply foolish: it explains the incompleteness of the lists by saying that Hierocles chose to make his lists incomplete.

## APPENDIX VI.

### BISHOPS OF ATTOUDA AND TRAPEZOPOLIS.

#### 1. Attouda.

Hermolaus *Attydeorum Conc. Ephes.* 431.

Symmachus 'Ατύδων absent from *Conc. Chalced.* 451.

Stephanus 'Ατύδου *Conc. Quinisext.* 692.

Nicetas 'Ατούδων *Conc.* 879.

Arsenius 'Ατούδων *Conc.* 879.

#### 2. Trapezopolis.

1. Hierophilus was transferred from Trapezopolis to Plotinopolis probably during the fourth century (*Socr. HE VII* 36).

2. Asclepiades τῆς κατὰ Τραπεζούπολιν ἐκκλησίας 431.

3. Joannes *Conc. Chalced.* 451.

4. Eugenius πόλεως Τραπεζῶν *Conc. Quinisext.* 692.

5. Zacharias *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787.

6. Leo *Conc. Phot.* 879.

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<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Geogr.* p. 139.



## CHAPTER VI

### COLOSSAI AND THE ROADS TO THE EAST

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§ 3. Khonai p. 213. § 4. St. Michael of Khonai p. 214. § 5. The Phrygian  
Tripolis p. 216. § 6. The Eastern Highway p. 217. § 7. The Byzantine Road  
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Siblia and the Phrygian Tripolis p. 233.

§ 1. SITUATION AND SCENERY. Colossai occupied the sloping glen of the upper Lycos (Ch. I § 3), from which M. Kadmos rises so steep on the south that it seems almost to overhang the level bottom of the glen. On the north broken hilly ground forms the transition from the level valley to the mountain-rim of the plateau. The part of the plateau which presses from the north on the upper end of the Lycos valley is the Baklan-Ova, the territory of the ancient Lounda. The highest point of the ridge that bounds the plateau, forming a continuation of the Mossyna mountains, is now called Belevi-Dagh. The main road that connects the Lycos valley with the Baklan-Ova passes north of it after crossing the hilly ground on the west; but a shorter path ascends sharply from the eastern end of the glen northwards by Ala-Kurt to Denizler. Nearly at the same point another path leads up eastwards by the easy pass of Graos-Gala to the plain of Sanaos, with its salt lake, one of the lowest parts of the central plateau: this was the line of the great Eastern Highway. The Colossian glen is about 1,100 feet above sea-level at its western end, and 1,700 at its eastern end; while Kadmos rises to about 7,000 feet. At the eastern end of the glen, overhanging the Eastern Highway on the south, is Sivri-Dagh, Pointed-Mount, whose name properly describes its conical peak. It is a prominent and beautiful point, which the traveller will recognize at his first glance over the valley.

Colossai was situated on the south bank of the Lycos, on a rising



ground that overhangs the river, at the point where it enters a deep and picturesque gorge, piercing the low broad ridge between the upper and the lower shelf of the Lycos valley (Ch. I § 3)<sup>1</sup>. The fortified acropolis was on the south bank; but the buildings and tombs extended far on to the north bank; and thus the gorge literally begins inside the city. Colossai was at one time the great city of south-western Phrygia, lying on the easy trade-route from Sardis to Kelainai (the later Apameia) and the southern part of the plateau in general. The change of road-system, and the foundation of Laodiceia proved its ruin. Though situated on the Eastern Highway, it was so near Laodiceia (11 miles distant), that both could not live on the trade of the road; and the situation of Laodiceia, as we have seen, was far more advantageous. Colossai had not, like Hierapolis, any great natural advantages to ensure its prosperity. It derived some importance from its fine wool<sup>2</sup> which rivalled that of Laodiceia; and it retained municipal independence. But whereas Colossai was 'a great city of Phrygia' in B.C. 480, and 'a populous city, prosperous and great' in 401, it decayed in proportion as Laodiceia prospered. In the time of Strabo it was 'a small town' (πόλις p. 576). Pliny mentions it in a list of *oppida celeberrima*; but his list, which includes Celaenae, Andria, Carina, and other cities which had ceased to exist long before his time, is really an historical retrospect. He previously had given a list of all the important places, and he now adds, 'besides those already mentioned' (*praeter jam dicta*), a list of historically important names<sup>3</sup>. Its coinage, struck solely under the Empire, is scanty and uninteresting, and it almost disappears from history. Christianity alone has preserved its memory in the Roman period.

One of the most interesting questions in regard to Colossai<sup>4</sup> turns

<sup>1</sup> The gorge is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles long: its breadth varies during a considerable part of its length between 150 and 250 feet: the height of the perpendicular rock walls is 60 feet or more.

<sup>2</sup> The colour of the wool was called from the city *colossinus*. According to Pliny XXI 51, the flower of the *cyclamen* was *colossinus*, and this flower is generally said to be purple. Strabo evidently refers to a natural colour; and we must suppose that it was a very dark purple, approximating to the black of Laodiceia.

<sup>3</sup> This explanation differs from the

one given by Lightfoot *Colossians* p. 16 n, which does not account for the description *celeberrima*. For Conium in Pliny's list probably Iconium should be read with some MSS. Pliny supposed this Phrygian Iconium to be different from the Lycaonian Iconium; but he misunderstood his authority, probably an old Greek work which gave Iconium its original character as a city of Phrygia (see *Church in R. Emp.* p. 37 f).

<sup>4</sup> The question is treated more fully in Ch. XIX of my *Church in the Roman Empire*.



upon Herodotus's description of the gorge through which the Lycos flows from the upper to the lower valley. According to Herodotus, the Lycos falls into a chasm within the city and disappears from view; and then at a distance of about five stadia reappears and flows to join the Maeander<sup>1</sup>.

I must refer the reader to M. Weber's clear description of the gorge, and agree with his opinion that there is no probability that the Lycos ever during any historical period<sup>2</sup> flowed through an underground chasm five stadia long in this part of its course. In that case, Herodotus's description is not strictly accurate. I can only repeat what I have said years ago: Herodotus had never seen either Colossai or Kelainai, but depended on the accounts of traders who came down the Maeander valley to the coast. None of the descriptions that he gives of places or monuments away from the coast in Asia Minor will stand minute inspection: all bear the stamp of second-hand information, valuable indeed, but blurred.

Next let us turn to a writer who speaks as an eye-witness, viz. Strabo; and we find that everything he says is clear and true to the facts of the present day: he spends some time on the marvels of the Lycos valley, and about the river he says that 'flowing for the greater part of its course underground, it thereafter appears to view and joins the other rivers' (Maeander, Kadmos, Kapros). This can only mean that the Lycos flows for more than 20 miles underground<sup>3</sup>, then appears above ground, and flows towards the Kadmos and the Maeander. It differs entirely from Herodotus's statement that the Lycos, in the middle of its course of about 20 miles, disappears in a chasm and reappears after five stades. Now Strabo's account is precisely that which the natives now give. According to them the real source of the Lycos is in the lake of Anava, on the higher plain to the east,

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῇ Λύκος ποταμὸς ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐσβάλλων ἀφανίζεται, ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὥς πέντε μάλιστα κη ἀναφαινόμενος ἐκδιδοί καὶ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Μαίανδρον VII 30. Five stadia is not an unfair estimate of the length of the narrowest part of the gorge.

<sup>2</sup> I clung for some time after my second visit to Colossai in 1891 to a theory more favourable to Herodotus (see letter in *Athenaeum* Aug. 15, 1891); but the facts are too clear, and my theory (which was never actually stated in print) must yield to M. Weber's simple statement

of facts, *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 195 f. I therefore have recurred to the opinion gained at my first visit to Colossai in 1881, and published in 1886 in my *Antiquities of Southern Phrygia*.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ πλεόν δ' οὗτος ὑπὸ γῆς ῥυεῖς εἰτ' ἀνακύψας συνέπεσεν κτλ. p. 578. The Lycos has a clear and marked course of more than 20 miles with a good volume of water all that distance. He also speaks of τὸ πολύτρητον τῆς χώρας, referring not merely to the Lycos, but also to the Cadmos Ch. II § 2 and the Chrysorrhoas Ch. III § 2.



just as the real source of the Maeander is in the lake and fountains of Aurocrene on the plateau behind Kelainai. The Lycos appears after its underground course at several points. One is a small deep marshy lake, called a *duden*<sup>1</sup>, fed by abundant springs. Another is near Dere-Keui, where the stream issues from beneath the rock; and, when Hamilton I p. 507 penetrated further up a chasm above its exit, 'the sound of a subterranean river rushing along a narrow bed or tumbling over precipices . . . was distinctly heard.'

Now there are united in Herodotus's account two points, (1) within the very city of Colossai the Lycos enters a deep cleft in the ground: (2) the Lycos issues from an underground channel and flows to the Maeander. Each point is true, and each is stated by the eye-witness, Strabo; it is only the union of the two by Herodotus that is incorrect. This is characteristic of the faithful repeater of evidence at second-hand: his details are given literally as he heard them, but the total effect produced by the union of the details in a formal description is incorrect.

The only other authority which is worth quoting on this subject is the passage of Pliny, where he says that the Lycos is one of those rivers which go under the earth and again come forth<sup>2</sup>. But here again we have the account of one who was not an eye-witness, but reproduced in abbreviated form the accounts of others. There is every probability that Pliny thought of a river which disappeared beneath the earth at a point during its course and reappeared again at some distance further on; but it is also clear that an account like that of Strabo might naturally suggest such an idea to the mind of a reader who had not seen the actual localities. The one point that we can regard as assured is that the Lycos was considered to be a river flowing for some distance underground and then coming forth to the surface<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Duden* (like *καράβοθρον*) denotes either end of the underground channel of a river, where the river either disappears or reappears, and it also denotes the underground channel as a whole. This *Duden* lies on the north of the railway, immediately east of the station Kodja-Bash, Big-Head-Source.

<sup>2</sup> NH II 225 Subeunt terras rursusque redduntur Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia.

<sup>3</sup> None of the other references to the natural features of Colossai seem to

have any independent value; they seem to be mere inferences drawn by persons who had no actual knowledge of the localities. The preceding account is written after long and dispassionate consideration of everything that has been said on the subject by M. Bonnet (*Narratio de mirac. Chonis patrato* p. xxx f), M. Duchesne (*Bull. Crit.* 1890 p. 441 f, 1893 p. 164), M. Weber l. c., Hamilton I 508, Arundel (*Seven Churches* p. 64), and Laborde. See § 4.



§ 2. PEOPLE AND STATE. As to the population, the foundation, and the earliest constitution of Colossai, we have no evidence. The process whereby it was changed from a Phrygian to a Greek city is also unknown. The change may have been produced suddenly by a refoundation and colonization by some of the Greek kings (though there is not the slightest evidence<sup>1</sup> that this occurred), or, as is more probable, it may have come about gradually through the spread of Greek education, the example of Greek cities in the neighbourhood, and the growth of Greek feeling in the city.

One inscription, which unfortunately is defective and of uncertain date, gives a list of offices filled by a distinguished citizen of Colossai: it includes *strategos*, *agoranomos*, *boularch*, *grammateus*, *tamias*, *ephebarch*, *eirenarch*, *nomophylax*, *paraphylax*, superintendent of the distribution of oil (this duty was ordinarily performed by the *gymnasiarch*; probably Colossai had no *gymnasium*), superintendent of works, superintendent of the public estates, *ekdikos*. Most of these offices are described under Laodiceia. The *boularchos*, or leader of the senate, is probably only an honorary term, denoting the first on the list of senators (*princeps senatus*)<sup>2</sup>; but he may perhaps have been an official in the municipal senate of the Greek type. The *ekdikos* mentioned by Pliny (*ad Traj.* 110) at Amisos in A.D. 112 was, as Mr. Hardy says, 'a public prosecutor in financial matters'<sup>3</sup>; but it is doubtful whether *ekdikoi* were usual in Asia so early as that. In the later centuries they became very important, representing in their city the central authority judging cases below a certain amount, and performing other duties. But the term underwent great change of meaning; and its sense must always be estimated according to the period when it is used.

Coins mention both Archon<sup>4</sup> and Grammateus as magistrates (Ch. II § 17). Little that is characteristic occurs on the coins, which are not common. The Ephesian Artemis and the Laodicean Zeus are the most frequent types.

The origin of the name is unknown. A connexion with Koloe, the name of a lake beside Sardis and of a city in the upper Kayster valley (now called Keles)<sup>5</sup>, is probable. The form of the name seems

<sup>1</sup> Had there been any colony planted by a Greek king, the name of the city would probably have been altered.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly as M. Th. Reinach remarks, the Ephebarch is merely a title like *princeps juventutis*, and not an office (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 162, where he quotes

Arrian *Diss. Epict.* III 7, 19, and Dittenberger *Syll. Inscr. Gr.* no. 246).

<sup>3</sup> Waddington's note on this Colossian inscription, 1693 b, and on 1176.

<sup>4</sup> M. Waddington quotes an archon ΚΕΡΔΩC in his *Voyage Numism.* p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Inscriptions of this city, as for-



to have been grecized to suggest a derivation from *κολοσσός*; but the form *Κολασσαί* which became common in later time<sup>1</sup> is probably a truer representation of the Phrygian word. The ethnic was among the more educated *Κολοσσηνός*, but the more illiterate form *Κολασσαεύς* has the appearance of being nearer the native form.

§ 3. KHONAI. The territory of Colossai rose to importance again under the Byzantine Empire. When hordes of Sassanians or Saracens were ravaging the country, when every valley and glen north of Taurus was in constant dread of sudden attack, a suitable fortress was found at Khonai, three miles S.S.E. from Colossai. Neither Colossai nor Laodiceia was safe. Both required careful fortification, good garrisons and well-trained vigilant officers; but in the disorganization of the Empire during the seventh century none of these existed. But, whereas a raid was constantly to be dreaded, there was no risk of a formal siege from the loose Saracen armies; and accordingly the safest stronghold was one on a lofty rock, which was proof against an assault, though incapable of being provisioned against a long siege. The castle of Khonai was built perhaps by Justinian<sup>2</sup>, as part of his general scheme of defence; but long after his time the centre of population continued at the convenient situation of Colossai. In the seventh or eighth century, however, the population gradually moved away to a new situation on a shelf right under the castle, high above the plain. In A.D. 787 at Conc. Nicaen. II, the bishop bore the double title *Ψονοῦντος*<sup>3</sup> ἦτοι *Κολασσαέων*, which implies according to a common custom that he bore the title of Colossai, but was in actual fact bishop of Khonai. The memory of Colossai still remained in 787, but at the Council of 869 it had disappeared, and the bishop took his title from Khonai; and the same is the case with the later *Notitiae*.

So thoroughly did the name Khonai supplant that of Colossai and

merly read, gave the ethnic *Κολοσινός*, but more recent copies have *Κολοσηνός*. Another Koloe was in the Katakēkai-mene.

<sup>1</sup> It is found in MSS. of the New Testament (especially in the superscription of the Epistle which was added later, and to a small extent also in the text I 1) and in many Byzantine lists: see Lightfoot *Colossians* p. 17 f.

<sup>2</sup> This cannot be proved; but Justinianopolis-Khoma seems to belong to the same scheme as Khonai. Perhaps,

however, Khonai may have been created by the Arab wars of the seventh and eighth centuries.

<sup>3</sup> This is an extremely corrupt form: in most of the *Actiones* the name is given simply as *Χωνῶν*, with no alternative expression. In 692 the name is simply *πόλεως Κολασσαῆς*. The change of site had therefore not been officially recognized in that year; whereas it is evident that in 787 the bishop resided at Khonai, which he mentions first in his signature.



establish itself as the designation of the whole territory, and so completely was Colossai forgotten, that the idea arose that the Colossians to whom St. Paul wrote his epistle were the Rhodians<sup>1</sup>, so called from their famous Colossus. The church of the Colossians (Κολοσσαεῖς) to whom Sergius Tychicus, the Paulician leader, about 800–830 wrote one of his epistles (Cedr. I p. 758), has nothing to do with the Colossai of the Lycos valley. According to the Paulician fashion<sup>2</sup>, this name was given to the Church of Argas in Armenia.

The great fortress of Khonai was no doubt a *topoteresia* of the Thrakesian Theme, with which it is more naturally connected, than with the Anatolic Theme. See pp. 14, 83.

In A.D. 858–60 Khonai was made an archbishopric<sup>3</sup>; and it appears as a metropolis without subject bishoprics (τῷ Χωνῶν θρόνος ὑποκείμενος οὐκ ἔστι) in some of the latest *Notitiae*. Dr. H. Gelzer has fixed the date when it was made a metropolis. Leo VI, 886–911 A.D. arranged the hierarchy as 50 metropolitans, and 50 archbishops, leaving Khonai an archbishopric. But the *Nea Tactica*, which is certainly older than 968, gives Khonai as a metropolis. The elevation of Khonai occurred later than that of Samosata, which was recovered from the Saracens about 941<sup>4</sup> and was probably made a metropolis immediately afterwards. Dr. Gelzer connects this honour with the great importance which began during the ninth and tenth centuries to be paid to St. Michael of Khonai<sup>5</sup>.

§ 4. ST. MICHAEL. For centuries after the name of Colossai had disappeared, its great church of Michael the Archistrategos continued to be the religious centre of the district, famed as one of the greatest and most gifted with efficacy in Asia. It was situated, not within the walls of Colossai, but on the north bank of the Lycos, a little

<sup>1</sup> This, as Haase p. 266 points out, is the explanation of the statement made by Malalas p. 149 and Glycas p. 377, that the Rhodians were called Κολοσσαεῖς or Κολοσσείς (the latter probably a misprint). This statement can hardly be due to Malalas himself (c. 530–560), but rather to his Epitomator (see Krumbacher *Byz. Litt. Gesch.* p. 114). Glycas lived not earlier than the twelfth century.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly the people of Kynoschora in Armenia were addressed as the Laodiceans (τὴν τῶν Λαοδικέων, λέγουσι δὲ Κυνοχωρίτας Cedr. I p. 758).

<sup>3</sup> (Φώτιος) ἀποστέλλει Θεόφιλον ἐπίσκοπον τοῦ Ἀμορίου καὶ Σαμουήλ ἐπίσκοπον ἄχρῃς ἐκείνου τῶν Χωνῶν ὑπὸ Λαοδίκειαν τυγχάνοντα, ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τετιμηκώς, Mansi *Concil.* XVI p. 235. It is clear ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τοῦ Ἀμορίου ought to be read, for Amorion had been of the higher rank for some time. On the exact date see Gelzer *Jahrb. f. protest. Theol.* XII p. 533.

<sup>4</sup> Unless it was captured under Leo, as Dr. Gelzer thinks; but this seems improbable.

<sup>5</sup> Gelzer *ibid.* p. 537.



above the entrance to the gorge<sup>1</sup>. In this situation it must have been built before the population shifted to Khonai; and its ruins, plainly visible in 1881, showed that it had been of large size and great architectural pretensions. A quaint legend grew up to explain the origin and sanctity of the church of Michael in its solitary position down beside the threshing-floors of the people of Khonai in the plain. According to this legend, Michael had preserved the neighbourhood from an inundation by cleaving the gorge through the ridge and thus allowing the Lycos and the tributary streams that join it to escape into the lower valley; and the church was built in honour of the deliverance. The form in which we have the legend is not earlier than the ninth century, and is written by a person who had not seen the localities. Colossai is unknown to him: the church is the church of Khonai. Keretapa is represented as a place in its territory; and the legend of the production of the lake of Keretapa is applied to explain the origin of a fountain of drinkable water<sup>2</sup> which rises on the north side of the city, and joins the Lycos. But in spite of its late character and the foolishness of many details, it is possible, even probable, that the legend is founded on fact. An earthquake (such as occurs in the legend) might naturally block the Lycos temporarily; and the result would be an inundation, which would cease when the pressure of the water swept away the obstruction. But there is no evidence; and we cannot go further than the statement that this *may* have been the origin of the legend<sup>3</sup>. *Addenda*.

The identity of the church of Michael of Khonai with the church of Colossai has been doubted by some writers<sup>4</sup>; but it is proved, not merely by the circumstance of the legend, but also by the words of Nicetas of Khonai p. 523. This writer describes a raid of the Turks under a renegade Greek, Theodore Mankaphas, in 1189: and the description is noteworthy as a specimen of the terrible inroads by which the Turks gradually destroyed the Greek civilization and population of Asia. Hundreds of similar raids had been made by Sassanians, Saracens, and Turks<sup>5</sup>, for centuries; this one is described

<sup>1</sup> This statement is not susceptible of conclusive proof; but the ruins of the church described in the following sentences of the text are so imposing and on so large a scale, that one is justified in declaring them to be the remains of the famous church.

<sup>2</sup> The water of the Lycos is nauseous and undrinkable.

<sup>3</sup> The legend is discussed in detail in

my *Church in R. Emp.* Ch. XIX.

<sup>4</sup> For example, the Abbé Duchesne in *Bulletin Critique* 1893 p. 164.

<sup>5</sup> The Arab raids did not produce the same effect as the Turkish. The Arabs raided for pleasure, profit, and battle. The Turks raided with the deliberate and settled purpose of reducing the country to a wilderness, and letting it relapse into a land of nomads.



by a writer who had seen it or others like it. The raiders swept down the open valley, destroying everything in their path. Khonai, high up on the hillside, was safe from them; Laodiceia in its later situation (Ch. I § 9) was beyond their attack, though they could injure the people and their outlying possessions. But the threshing-floors of the Khoniatai, and open villages like Karia, were destroyed; and the great and famous church of Michael of Khonai was burned. This description proves beyond the reach of doubt that the church of St. Michael was not in or near Khonai, which lay far above and safe from the raiders, but was down in the open valley and quite exposed to them. The same inference may be drawn, though not so certainly, from other passages<sup>1</sup> describing the first raid of the Seljuk Turks down the Lycos valley in 1070, when the invaders desecrated the church and even stabled their horses in it; it is indeed expressly mentioned that they captured the city Khonai on this occasion; but the use of the church as a stable implies a place in the plain on the line of march, and not one high upon the hillside. The difficulties which M. Bonnet experiences in regard to the relation between Khonai and the church disappear when one remembers that the name Khonai denoted to the ancients not merely the town but also the territory owned by the town and cultivated by its inhabitants.

The alternations of fortune and the changes of lordship in the upper Lycos valley before it finally passed into the hands of the Turks have been described in Ch. I. Khonai is now peopled half by Christians, half by Turks (the latter being in all probability mohammedanized natives, and not Turkmen in origin).

§ 5. THE TRIPOLIS OF PHRYGIA. *Notitiae* I, VIII, IX, which represent the oldest forms of the list of bishoprics of Phrygia Pacatiana that has come down to us<sup>2</sup>, omit Colossai entirely. Along with it they also omit Lounda and Sanaos<sup>3</sup>, while they mention a Tripolis of which nothing else is known, and which must be distinguished from the Lydian Tripolis (placed under Sardis by all lists). Surely this Phrygian Tripolis must represent a temporary union of the three omitted bishoprics in a single episcopate. We may safely conjecture that this union was due to the dwindling of Colossai, and the humble rank of the other two.

The later *Notitiae* give the three bishoprics, and do not mention

<sup>1</sup> Attaliot. p. 140, Scylitz. p. 686, Zonar. XVIII 12.

<sup>2</sup> See Gelzer *Jahrb. f. protest. Theologie* XII 337 f and 529 f; *Hist. Geogr.* p. 89 f and p. 427 f; De Boor in *Zft. f.*

*Kirchengesch.* XII 304 f and 519 f, XIV 573 f.

<sup>3</sup> It must be noted that they also omit Keretapa, which reappears in the later lists: see Ch. IX § 1.



Tripolis; hence it is clear that the union lasted only a short time in the earlier Byzantine period. Now the lists of bishops present at the Councils show that at the Councils held after 692 the three bishoprics were separate; but give no conclusive evidence about the period before 692. The temporary union, then, is probably to be placed in this period; and it seems to have ended when Khonai became an important fortress, either under Justinian, or in the time of the early Iconoclasts. The important *Notitia* published by De Boor, which represents a revision made in the latter period, gives all three bishoprics according to the later system. The whole subject, however, is obscure; and it is not possible to affirm anything until further evidence is discovered.

If our hypothesis approximates to the truth, it follows from it that the three *Notitiae*, I, VIII, IX, retained in this point an ancient fact about the ecclesiastical constitution of Phrygia which had ceased to exist before they were compiled. But it is admitted by all who have studied the subject that the *Notitiae*, as we have them, often are incomplete corrections of an older list; the writer took an older authority and brought it up to date so far as he could; but, while he was better able to correct the lists of metropolitans and archbishops, he often left the lists of simple bishops without much alteration<sup>1</sup>.

The comparative Table of bishops of the three cities which is given in Appendix II will bring the evidence clearly before the reader. I assume for the present the union of Valentia and Sanaos as two parts of a composite bishopric, which is discussed in Ch. IX § 7.

§ 6. THE EASTERN HIGHWAY. From the eastern end of the Colossian glen, an open easy pass leads upwards with a gentle yet steady slope, ascending about 880 feet in 6 miles. Before beginning this ascent, the traveller passes the village of Kizil-Kaklik<sup>2</sup>, lying on his right close under the hills that fringe the plateau above him. South of Kizil-Kaklik another pass called Sapadje-Dere leads up towards S.W.; and on the opposite side of the Sapadje pass is Dere-Keui underneath the sharp cone of Sivri-Dagh. Both of these passes lead up to the great Plateau of Asia Minor; and the direct and short

<sup>1</sup> The only point in which I should differ from Gelzer and De Boor in this question is in believing (as I have said *Hist. Geogr.* p. 428) that there is even more of this continuance of archaic facts than they have explicitly recognized.

<sup>2</sup> Wrongly called Kizil-Keklik on some

maps. The error is natural; for the Keklik or red-legged partridge is common in the country (an annoying bird to sportsmen, as it runs and does not rise, and when it can by any chance be raised, it takes to the ground again immediately). I was assured that the name was not Keklik but Kâk-lik.



road to Yarashli (Takina-Valentia), Kayadibi (Keretapa), and Pisidia in general goes S.W. up the Sapadje-Dere, while the ancient Eastern Highway, like the modern railway, went straight east up the easier pass which ascends to Bash-Tcheshme (Head-Fountain), 2,630 ft. above the sea<sup>1</sup>. Here we find ourselves at the western end of a perfectly level plain, about 6 or 7 miles in breadth from north to south, which stretches far away to the east, bounded on the south by the ridge extending from M. Kadmos to Yan-Dagh with its sharp lofty peak, and on the north by a lower range of hills. This level plain, now hardly tilled, is called Hambat-Kiri<sup>2</sup>. The road goes along it, keeping near the northern side, for about 6 miles, rising very slowly, till it reaches a fine old Turkish khan (2,800 ft.) near the village of Tchardak, which lies up on the slope to the north. One mile further on we approach the end of the Bitter-Salt-Lake Anava (Adji-Tuz-Göl), which borders the road on the right hand for the next 7 or 8 miles (height of water 2,762 ft.). About 4 miles E. from Tchardak, the road turns N.E., and continues in that direction until it reaches the Maeander and Apameia. The hills on the north approach very close to the lake at this point, rise to a higher elevation, and are called Maimun-Dagh<sup>3</sup>. Right opposite it, south of the lake, the beautiful conical peak, Yan-Dagh, seems to rise straight from the water's edge, to the height of 6,000 feet or more. After a few miles the lake keeps further back from the hills, and the road gradually parts from it, keeping near the hills, which sink down as we proceed. Nine miles from Tchardak we pass the entrance of a small glen, through which a little stream flows in the rainy season to the lake. A quarter of a mile up the stream is a village Sari-Kavak (Yellow Poplar), where are some interesting ancient remains, especially a curious gateway composed of three large blocks of stone. The upper stone was cut to grip the other two in a fashion that I have observed also at Hierapolis. There can be no doubt that this lake and town are those called Anava, which Xerxes passed on his march from Kelainai to Colossai (Herod. VII 30). People still get salt from the lake as they did when Xerxes passed by it.

After passing the eastern end of the lake, one finds a wide, little

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find any name for this pass except the pass of Tchardak or of Bash-Tcheshme.

<sup>2</sup> Kir denotes a waterless uncultivated plain.

<sup>3</sup> Maimun-Dagh is the southern end

of an elevated ridge which runs up to N. and keeps the Maeander away up towards Eumeneia. The highest part of the ridge is called Besh-Parmak (Ch. V App. II § 6), and overhangs Baklan-Ova on the E.



cultivated, but apparently fertile plain, the Daz-Kiri, extending on the right; while the road to Apameia passes the village Appa, crosses a ridge 688 ft. above the level of the lake, and, descending again on the opposite side to the Maeander, it reaches Apameia on the other bank of the river at an elevation of 2,850 ft. above sea-level. This ridge projects northward from the mass of hilly and mountainous country which separates the valley of lake Anava from the larger salt-lake Askania (Burdur-Göl), and which culminates in the peak of Yan-Dagh; and the Maeander, which might otherwise run to lake Anava, is turned off by this ridge N.W. towards the Eumenian valley<sup>1</sup>. Between this ridge and the chain of Maimun-Dagh and Besh-Parmak, there extends a broad undulating grassy plateau, rising from 200 to 500 ft. above the Maeander.

The Lycos was called the Little Maeander<sup>2</sup> in later time. Frederick Barbarossa crossed it between Hierapolis and Laodiceia; and again on the eastward march from Laodiceia, he reached its source (*ubi fluvius Mandra oritur*). Much confusion has been introduced into the account of Barbarossa's march by interpreting Mandra here as the Maeander. It obviously means the same Little Maeander which the army crossed before reaching Laodiceia. Moreover mere consideration of distances brings us to the same conclusion. The Crusaders, according to the description of an unknown writer, reached the springs of *fluvius Mandra* on May 27, the day they left Laodiceia<sup>3</sup>. Tomaschek<sup>4</sup> follows the usual opinion as to *fluvius Mandra*, but his calculation supposes the Crusaders to have reached Apameia on May 28, and the plain of Sozopolis on 29, completing a march of more than 85 statute miles in the face of a dangerous and pertinacious enemy in three days. This is quite impossible.

§ 7. THE BYZANTINE ROAD TO THE EAST. The railway does not follow the line of the Eastern Highway to Apameia; but turns off to the left near the end of lake Anava, rises only 201 ft. above the lake,

<sup>1</sup> The ridge protrudes to the north, leaving a narrow pass for the Maeander to traverse between it and Djebel-Sultan about six miles below Apameia.

<sup>2</sup> The Kaystros also was sometimes called by the name Maeander. See *Hist. Geogr.* p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Inde (from Laodiceia) proficiscentes feria sexta ante diem rogationum (April 27) propter graminis et aquae defectum et propter dietam solito longiorem (18 miles, decidedly longer than

the marches of preceding days) inestimabile dampnum in equis passi venimus ubi fluvius Mandra oritur. See a letter *de morte Friderici Imp.* published by Pertz *Monum. German. Histor.* XX p. 494. I hope to discuss the whole journey of Frederick through Phrygia consecutively in a later chapter.

<sup>4</sup> His Beiträge I ought never to mention without a word of praise for its minute learning.



and descends on the valley of the Maeander opposite Sibia. The same path was followed by a Byzantine road, which appears as a route from the Lycos valley towards the inner country in the later wars, whereas the road by Apameia lost its former pre-eminence. What cause can have led to the adoption of the new route? The reason cannot have been the difference of 487 ft. in the summit level of the two routes<sup>1</sup>, for that is nothing in comparison with the ascents which have to be faced further east; and moreover the line of the old Eastern Highway is more advantageous further on. In this change of road there lies the explanation of the general course of later history for this district, the decay of Apameia and the growth of Sibia. Let us examine the road as a whole.

The road goes straight towards the Maeander, crosses it by a bridge now called Tchandir-Keupreu (2,750 ft.) and passes a considerable ancient site *Vicus* on the other side. Here it forks, according as we wish to go left to the high-lying village Khoma (the ancient Sibia) or to continue the journey to the east. In the latter case we have to cross Djebel-Sultan (Sultan's Mountain) by the Duz-Bel, ascending the steep grassy hillside by a sharp ascent of fully 1,500 ft. On reaching the brow a broad depression in the ridge<sup>2</sup> stretches before us. After three miles we cross the ruins of a wall, which once evidently was a defence for the pass. One mile further we are near the highest level, 600 ft. above the brow, and 4,850 above the sea. Here the road, which has come nearly due east from the bridge, forks<sup>3</sup>. The left-hand branch, after a mile or so, turns N.E. and descends by a short and rough gap to the Glaukos valley (Sanduklu-Ova), near the city Stektorion (3,500 ft.). The right-hand branch turns at once a little south of east<sup>4</sup>, and descends a narrow gorge among the hills now called Turrije-Boghaz for several miles.

After issuing from the Turrije-Boghaz, the road continues east across open country<sup>5</sup> (about 4,000 ft.) which forms the watershed between the Glaukos on the north and a stream that flows south to the country Aurokra and the lake Aulokrene. It then crosses a broad flat ridge, the southern part of Gumalar-Dagh, rising to about 4,800 ft.,

<sup>1</sup> This in itself would be a sufficient reason for the course of the railway; but the desire to shorten the connexion with Eumeneia is an additional reason. But the long easy slope up to the summit on the Apameian route is no obstacle in a horse or carriage road.

<sup>2</sup> This is what in Turkish is called

a *Bel*, literally *waist*.

<sup>3</sup> The fork is a little before, i. e. west of, the summit.

<sup>4</sup> 109° is the compass-reading, making about 104° on the map.

<sup>5</sup> Kiepert's map makes it pass through Kizil-Euren; but this is not correct. It passes about two m. south of the village.



and enters the valley of Metropolis near its north-eastern end, where it rejoins the line of the Eastern Highway (3,780 ft.) from which it diverged beside the lake of Anava. The line of the Highway is a mile or two shorter than the Byzantine road, and it nowhere presents a difficulty like the long steep climb from the Maeander valley to the brow of Duz-Bel. The later road is neither easier nor shorter; but the reason for adopting the route of Khoma lies in the history of the fortress Sibia, and the requirements of the Byzantine time. Sibia became one of the great fortresses in the system of defence against the Arabs, and the road which led direct to it from the coast-valley became important; whereas Apameia was not an important fortress, and the road to it sank into insignificance along with the decay of the trade to which it owed its former importance.

Part at least of this Byzantine road was used both in later and earlier times. The Duz-Bel is the recognized and natural road from Eumeneia, the Banaz-Ova, Philadelphieia, &c., to the southern part of the plateau; and it must have always been a path that was used by all but heavy traffic going that way. It was the road by which St. Paul on his journey (*Acts* XIX) went from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesos, as we see from two considerations: he did not pass through Colossai and Laodiceia (*Coloss.* II 1), and he took a higher-lying road instead of the lowest of all along the lake of Anava<sup>1</sup>. The Duz-Bel route crosses the Eumenian valley, and does not go near the lake; and the accounts given by the natives of its importance led me to examine it in 1883<sup>2</sup>.

§ 8. THE SIBLIANOI. The Maeander, rising beside Apameia, is turned away to the north-west by the ridge already described § 6. On the right rises the ridge called Djebel-Sultan<sup>3</sup>, which is not much above 4,000 ft. behind Apameia, but is about 5,000 ft. near Duz-Bel. This ridge stretches from the beautiful peak called Ai-Doghmush<sup>4</sup> (over

<sup>1</sup> See *Church in Rom. Emp.*, second or later edition (less completely in first edition) p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> I thought that we were the first travellers to cross the pass, but afterwards observed that Laborde must have gone that way. He attributes an inscription of Stektorion to Eumeneia (CIG 3888), and the explanation of this error must be that he had gone directly from the one to the other.

<sup>3</sup> It is also called Samsun-Dagh, keeping the name of the old village Samsa-

dokome, which was situated near Besh-Bunar (p. 222 n. 1), see *Acta Tryphonis* (where there is in the extant edition a confusion between Bithynian and Phrygian Apameia).

<sup>4</sup> Rising Moon, a name which admirably describes the appearance of this fine hill as it is seen rising above an intervening ridge as the traveller approaches (especially from the west). A name like this, implying poetic imaginative interpretation of nature, is so rare in Turkish as to suggest that it



5,500) S.E. from Apameia, to the great mass of Ak-Dagh, which overhangs Eumeneia. A few miles below Apameia a narrow pass between Djebel-Sultan and the ridge on the left allows the Maeander to pass from the open Apamean valley to the Siblian valley, which is really a corner of the great, level, and extraordinarily fertile valley of Eumeneia, called *Eumenetica regio* by Pliny V 113 and *Peltenon Pedion* by Strabo p. 629. Beside the river in the upper part of its course is a great series of marshes or marshy lakes, fed by springs which rise underneath Djebel-Sultan<sup>1</sup>; and another vast marsh between Siblia and Eumeneia is formed by the Cludrus (Ch. VII § 1).

Pliny V 106 mentions a people Silbiani in the *conventus* of Apameia; and Ptolemy gives Silbion somewhere in the centre of Phrygia towards the southern side. Hierocles mentions Peltai, Eumeneia, and Siblia together; and so do the later *Notitiae* (giving the name as Soublaion, on which see below). Cinnamus p. 298 describes Soublaion as being close to the sources of the Maeander; and the Byzantine lists place it in Pacatiana. It must therefore lie west of Djebel-Sultan, for all east of that ridge belongs to Salutaris; and it must be north or west from Apameia, for Apameia was in Pisidia. We are therefore compelled to place it near the Maeander immediately below the territory of Apameia.

As to the form of the name, coins with the legend CIBAIANΩN or CEIBAIANΩN<sup>2</sup> justify Hierocles against Pliny and Ptolemy, and show that the vowel of the first syllable was pronounced long. The later Byzantine form Soublaion<sup>3</sup> seems to be adjectival, meaning perhaps the Siblian fortress (κάστρον) or the Siblian estate (κτῆμα)<sup>4</sup>.

The form of signature adopted by Eulalius at Chalcedon<sup>5</sup> suggests that he was bishop of the church in the Siblian country or the Siblian fortress or estate; whereas it is hardly explicable if he were simply bishop of a city Siblia, of the same class as Laodiceia or Attouda.

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is a translation of some ancient name. Pliny calls this hill Signia.

<sup>1</sup> Gök-Göl is a little above Tchandır Bridge: Besh-Bunar, Five Springs, are a few miles below Apameia.

<sup>2</sup> The former appears on the earlier coins, struck under Augustus, the latter on the later.

<sup>3</sup> The variation of vowel seems to be characteristic of Phrygian dialectic variation: the inscriptions show *αιινυ* and *αινουν*, *κακιν* and *κακουν* (see *Phrygian Inscriptions* in *Zft. f. vergl. Sprachforsch.*

1887 pp. 394 and 399): cp. Briges and Bruges or Brugoi; Akristis and Akrisias from root *krus* according to Fick; and the same variation is found in Illyrian and Messapian names according to Deecke *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVI p. 586, XXXVII p. 388. Compare *Ἰβωρα* and *Ἰβηρα* *Hist. Geogr.* p. 328.

<sup>4</sup> Compare τὸ Βίνδαιον (κτῆμα) Ch. IX. The usual accentuation in both is not adjectival.

<sup>5</sup> Εὐλάλιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σιβλιανῶ ἀγίας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας Act. III.



Now an examination of the country in 1891 suggested the opinion that the Siblianoi possessed no proper *polis*, but retained the old Anatolian village-organization Ch. IV § 2 and 7. At least three large and important village centres (*κῶμαι*) are found in this district, one at Tchandir-Tchiflik near the bridge and the village Sungurlu, a second at Boz-Eyuk, and the third high up on the side of Ak-Dagh at Khoma.

The first of these is marked out by its situation as the ancient *Vicus*, indicated on the Peutinger Table on the road from Eumeneia to Apameia (12 M.P. from the former and 14 from the latter<sup>1</sup>). Nothing else is recorded of this obscure village till we come to the latest class of *Notitiae*, beginning with the *Nova Tactica* which dates shortly before 968. There we find a bishop of Oikokome, that is to say, of Justinianopolis (*Οἰκοκώμης ἡτοι Ἰουστινιανουπόλεως*); and we cannot hesitate to identify the Greek *οἶκο-* with the Latin *vicus*. When the whole ecclesiastical system was remodelled by Leo VI (886–911) after the devastation and disorganization of the long Saracen wars, this new bishopric was instituted and added at the end of the list. Now, by the regular rule, we must understand that the double name of this new bishopric indicates not a single town with two names, but two separate towns, one the older centre and one the newer centre of population. We generally find that one of these was a town in the plain, and the other occupied a safer and less accessible position on the hills. In the present instance we have found Oikokome to be a place in the open plain, and now we must look for Justinianopolis.

We may feel confident that (1) Justinian's city is likely to have been a place of some importance, for his foundations were made with great skill; (2) it was probably a fortress forming part of the series of defences built by him along the important lines of communication; (3) some reference to it is likely to occur in the military history of the Empire. On the southern slope of Ak-Dagh<sup>2</sup>, high above the Siblian valley and the *Vicus*, is a place which satisfies all these conditions. The village of Khoma lies there about 400 ft. above the

<sup>1</sup> Measuring along the road on the railway map I find the distance from the ruins beside Tchandir-Tchiflik just thirteen English miles from Apameia, and barely twelve from Eumeneia. I take the road as crossing the Maeander at Tchandir Bridge, and going by Boz-Eyuk, which is the most direct route.

The road from Tchandir along the right bank by Gök-Göl, Yaparlar, and Besh-Bunar is longer.

<sup>2</sup> Ak-Dagh rises east of Eumeneia and north of the Siblian territory, dividing the valley of the Maeander from that of its tributary the Glaukos Ch. VII § 1.



valley, in a fine situation looking over the intermediate hills to Yan-Dagh, Cadmos, and Salbakos, with abundant water-supply, and luxuriant vegetation clothing the hillside, where numerous marbles give signs of old civilization. On a rock high above the village, there are said to be the walls of an old fortress (*kale*); the situation is characteristic of the Byzantine fortress generally, e. g. Justinianopolis-Palia (Sivri-Hissar) or Khonai<sup>1</sup>.

This Byzantine castle, beside an important Byzantine road, and overhanging Oikokome, must be identified as Justinianopolis; and the double title of the bishopric becomes clear. Now it commands the country of the Siblianoi; and therefore the fortress Soublaion, which is mentioned by Nicetas p. 250 and Cinnamus p. 298, may probably be identified with it. This identification is proved by a consideration of the two passages.

Manuel Comnenus resolved to make a great effort to break the Turkish power; and he began by refortifying a strong position on each of the two great roads by which communication with Iconium was maintained, Dorylaion on the direct road from Constantinople and Soublaion on the road from the Aegean coast. He chose the second route for delivering his great blow; and in the spring of 1176, after wintering at Khonai, he marched directly against Iconium, by way of Lampe and Khoma<sup>2</sup>. Nicetas here uses the name Khoma, where previously he used the name Soublaion; the two therefore must be identical; we have already seen that Justinianopolis and Khoma were identical. Khoma, the fortress Soublaion<sup>3</sup>, and Justinianopolis are therefore all names of one place.

It is certainly strange that Manuel should march by Khoma, in place of taking the road by Apameia, for the latter route was probably used by John Comnenus when he captured and held Sozopolis; but the statements of Nicetas seem clear that he took the way of Khoma both going<sup>4</sup> and returning<sup>5</sup>. His march and that of Frede-

<sup>1</sup> I have not visited it. Sterrett and I started from Khoma one morning in 1883 to do so; but after a considerable ascent, we saw it still high above us; and, having before us a long journey to Sanduklu over an unknown road, and being led by report to expect nothing but bare walls at the *Kale*, we desisted.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς Δάμπην ἦκετο . . . , καὶ κεῖθεν εἰς τὸ Χῶμα ἐλθὼν τῷ Μυριοκεφάλῳ ἐφίσταται· φρούριον δὲ τοῦτο παλαιὸν καὶ ἀοίκητον. Nicet. p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ Σούβλαιον must here apparently be taken as an adjectival form with κάστρον understood. But it seems possible that Χῶμα Σούβλαιον was distinguished from Χῶμα Σακηνόν which lay further east, and if that be so, Σούβλαιον would have to be taken as a short term for Khoma of the Sublaian country.

<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὸ Χῶμα ἐλθὼν p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> τὸ μὲν Σούβλεον ἐπιπαριῶν καθαιρεῖ p. 250.



rick Barbarossa which is closely connected with it will be discussed together in a later chapter (see also § 9 and *Addenda*).

Our argument seems to force us to this identification of Justinianopolis and Sibia, and yet there seems one strong reason against it. The same *Notitiae* which mention Justinianopolis and Oikokome also give a bishopric Soublaion. I can only explain this by assuming that the old list was carelessly adapted to the new arrangements of Leo: when he restored the bishopric, peace was bringing new prosperity to the valley, and the *Vicus* in the low ground became for a time the most important centre. It is therefore named first; and the reviser of the old list added this apparently new bishopric at the end, leaving Soublaion in its original position in the middle of the list.

A third village of the Siblianoi was situated at Boz-Eyuk, which derives its name from a large artificial mound, bare and bald, an evident proof of ancient life. Here and at the neighbouring village of Duman I copied six inscriptions in 1891, from which we learn that there were a hereditary priesthood of Artemis and a statue of Caesar at the village. Fines are made payable at the statue of Caesar. This suggests some specially close connexion between the village and Caesar. Possibly it may have been an imperial estate, and τὸ Σούβλαιον (κτῆμα) in the *Notitiae* may indicate the Siblian Estate. We shall find many cases in which part of the territory of a Phrygian tribe was seized by the Greek kings, and passed from them to the Roman emperor (see pp. 10, 103, 131, 256-60).

In this account of the Siblian country, we have assumed that it was a *komopolis* or association of villages. But the coins do not favour this idea. On one of them struck under Geta appears the head of a city-goddess with mural crown and the name CEIBΛIA. In the early third century therefore the tribe must have become more closely organized than a mere *koinon* of distinct villages; it selected one of these villages<sup>1</sup> as a *polis* or city centre. But when we consider how covetous of titles of honour, and how ingenious in devising them with very slight justification, the towns of Asia were, the legend on this coin seems not wholly inconsistent with the impression which we have derived from the remains in the country, that the *komai* maintained an unbroken existence. In the defective state of our

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<sup>1</sup> This *polis* may have been at any of the three sites of the country, probably at Vicus. To judge from the remains Boz-Eyuk might appear the chief centre of the Siblianoi; but if it was made a *polis*, it could not be an imperial estate, as we conjectured.



evidence, some questions about Sibia must be left in an unsatisfactory condition. The progress of discovery will probably furnish an answer.

Julius Kallikles, or Kallikles, son of Kallistratos, mentioned on coins under Augustus, seems to have been a rich native, who defrayed the cost of the coins. Certainly Menodotos, who with his wife Maiane, appears on coins of Geta, ΠΑΡΑ · ΜΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ · Κ · ΜΑΙΑΝΗC · CΕΙΒΑΙΑΝΩΝ<sup>1</sup> helped to strike the coins which bear their name.

§ 9. THE THEME OF KHOMA. The fortress of Khoma, towards which the Byzantine road points, became specially important in the twelfth century, as the centre of the Theme Khoma, which maintained the defence against the Seljuk Turks on this side; and it has retained its name to the present day. But the name Khoma was not always restricted to the fortress; it is applied also to the entire country which was guarded by the troops stationed at the fortress<sup>2</sup>, including the Pentapolis and the valley of Anava. The fortress of Khoma was built by Justinian to be a *topoteresia* of the great Anatolic Theme; but when the Seljuk Turks overran Asia Minor as far as the Aegean (Ch. I § 8), the troops of this *topoteresia* were withdrawn, and hence Anna Comnena often speaks of them as in Constantinople<sup>3</sup>. But as the strength of Alexius increased, he reoccupied the fortress of Sibia in 1092 (Ch. I § 8), and Khoma was now dignified with the title of Theme. The frontier defence now was divided between the two Themes of Khoma and Cappadocia, the latter including the frontier east of Akroenos (Afiom-Kara-Hissar) and the former the frontier south of that fortress<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On the phrase *παρά* see Lenormant *la Monnaie dans l'Antiquité* III 120: it occurs also at Apameia and Keretapa, places in the same *conventus*. The names Maiane (and Maianos, which does not actually occur) seem to be derivatives from Ma, the name of the goddess-mother, whence come Maes and Imaes, Maion and Imaion (village name), &c. See p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Χώματος Anna I 134, 170, 178, cp. I 131, τῶν Χωματηνῶν ἔξαρχον I 29.

<sup>3</sup> Tomaschek *Beitr.* p. 99 takes Χωματηνοί as Turkish troops, mentioning the expressions οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Χώματος Τοῦρκοι, οἱ Σκύθαι οἱ Χωματηνοί, which are unknown to me. More explicit references to the authorities would have much enhanced

the usefulness of Tomaschek's work to those who try to tread in his footsteps. The passage of Anna I p. 29 (Bonn ed.) shows that Katakalon was made by Alexius commander of the soldiers of Khoma (Khomatenoi) and the Turkish soldiers (in the Byzantine service) with orders to guard the frontier against the Skythai (i. e. the Seljuk nomads) and prevent their incursions. Several other passages in Anna show that the Khomatenoi were Byzantine troops (they are distinguished from the Romaioi in I p. 178); and their unwarlike and cowardly character is stigmatized on p. 170, which does not seem very applicable to Turks.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν Βούρτζην τοπάρχην ὄντα Καπποδο-



In the condition of the Byzantine empire, the great fortresses necessarily became the governing centres of the country. The Siblian fortress Justinianopolis therefore must have speedily eclipsed the once powerful Apameia; and the road connecting the former with the east and the west became important, while the route by Apameia was forgotten. I have not found any reference to Apameia in the Byzantine period, except that its bishops were present at councils in 553, 787, and perhaps 879<sup>1</sup>. It is mentioned in the latest *Notitiae*; but even bishoprics which had long passed into Turkish hands were still kept on the lists.

§ 10. LAMPE. A place named Lampe rose to notice in the later Byzantine time. Ducas, after marching from the Lycos valley in 1092, traversed Khoma, i. e. the Theme, and came to Lampe<sup>2</sup>. Again in 1176 Manuel advanced from the Lycos by Lampe<sup>3</sup> to Khoma (i. e. the central fortress refortified in the preceding year). These references point to the ancient Christian village, whose remains were observed by my friend Mr. Walker in making the cuttings for the railway beside Evjiler, a few miles beyond Appa (and only a little way off the direct road to Apameia).

When Lampe is thus placed, we see more precisely the force of Cinnamus's words p. 298, that Manuel, coming from the north (probably from the Rhyndakos Ch. I § 10), traversed the plains towards Lampe and fortified Sibia: Lampe marked the end of the great Eumenian plain opposite the point where Manuel entered it; and therefore 'he crossed the plains that extend towards Lampe' (*τὰς ἐπὶ Λάμπης διελθὼν πεδιάδας*).

One fact might throw doubt on this identification: Nicetas seems to place Lampe at Kelainai<sup>4</sup>. But we may compare the error made by Cinnamus<sup>5</sup>, who puts Sibia at the sources of the Maeander. It

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*κίας καὶ Χώματος* Anna I 171. The same general could not have commanded both *themata* unless their territories were contiguous.

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to be certain about 879: Theognostos, Theodoros, and Sophron, all of Apameia, were present. Two of these were probably the Photian and Ignatian bishops of Bithynian Apameia; the third may belong to the Pisidian (Phrygian) Apameia.

<sup>2</sup> See Ch. I § 9. He went on to Polybotos. Again the Sultan of Iconium, returning with his captives from the

Maeander valley, halted at Lampe, restored to them all their property, and settled them beside Philomelion in the village now called Permenda or Giaour-Keui, see pp. 16, 23.

<sup>3</sup> On the name, which is common, see note p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *πρὸς Λάμπην* (*Λάμπιν* in the Bonn text should be corrected) *ἦκετο καὶ πόλιν Κελαινὰς ἔνθα τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ἐκβολαί κ.τ.λ.* p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> *περὶ πρώτας που τοῦ Μαιάνδρου ἐκβολάς* p. 298.



would appear that Apameia had disappeared as a city, and that, since the eastern road had been changed, there were very vague ideas current as to the distance of the sources of the Maeander from the path which was in use. Lampe and Siblia were the two points on the road nearest the site of Apameia. Nicetas was a rhetorician; and the use of the ancient name Kelainai instead of Apameia shows that here he is introducing a rhetorical and antiquarian digression. This passage is one in which (as Finlay<sup>1</sup> remarks in another connexion) Nicetas 'requires to be read with great caution in order to separate his meaning from his rhetoric.' Aware that Lampe was near Kelainai, he seized the pretext to introduce a piece of fine writing about the wonderful natural features of Kelainai, which evidently he had never seen. Moreover we shall see in the next section that, owing to the old dominion of Apameia, a place west of Lampe is mentioned as beside Apameia.

Further, there is now an idea widely spread in the western country that the Maeander rises in the vast marshes of the Siblian country, fed by the rich fountain of Geuk-Bunar. Travellers often may notice this belief. For example, when Arundel inquired at Bash-Tcheshme between Khonas and Tchardak<sup>2</sup> about the Maeander, all the Turks who were present 'agreed in stating its sources to be at Ishekli,' which is the site of Eumeneia. Apparently the same belief was current in the same country in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; Cinnamus evidently held it; and Nicetas may have inferred that Kelainai (familiar to him from Herodotus and Xenophon, whereas Apameia was unknown to him) was near this source, of which he had been told.

A passage of Anna Comnena refers to the Turkish invaders of the coast-lands encamped at Lampe. This must be a different place, evidently not at a very great distance south from Adramyttion<sup>3</sup>. The same place probably is called an Asian village by Cinnamus<sup>4</sup>.

§ 11. KHARAX AND GRAOS GALA. When Lampe is fixed, the other

<sup>1</sup> Compare Rühl in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbh.* 1883 p. 745. The words of Nicetas might be used to prove that fugitive slaves ten feet high were quite common in the streets of Constantinople.

<sup>2</sup> *Seven Churches* p. 155. He does not name Bash-Tcheshme; but his description leaves no doubt. One often observes that the source of a river in Turkey is held to be some special fountain which is by no means the head of the longest branch.

<sup>3</sup> πυθόμενος δὲ περὶ τῶν Τούρκων καὶ μεμαθηκὼς κατὰ τὴν Λάμπην τούτους τῷ τότε ἐνδιατρίβειν II 250.

<sup>4</sup> Δημήτριος Ῥωμαῖος μὲν γένος Λάμπης δὲ κώμης ὠρμημένος Ἀσιανῆς p. 251. Lampe near Khoma was not in Byzantine Asia. Joannes of Lampe, a friend of Xiphilin, made archbishop of Bulgaria by Constantine X (1059-67), may have belonged to either village or to Lampe (Lappa) of Crete: Scylitz. p. 659. Appa is (L)appa, see *Addenda*.



places on the road from Khonai are easily determined. One was Graos Gala, of which nothing is known; and between Lampe and Graos Gala was Kharax, a town or fort which was held by the Turks<sup>1</sup>, and vainly attacked by the Byzantine troops on the last occasion when they ventured east of the Lycos valley, 1187. We must conclude that unless Kharax was a later name for the old site at Sari-Kavak, it is the same as Tchardak; and the similarity of names makes it practically certain that Tchardak is a turcized form of the Greek word. If that is so, Graos Gala must be the pass leading up from Kizil-Kaklik to Bash-Tcheshme. The water-course down the pass is dry throughout the year, except immediately after rain; and this suggested to the rustic wit of the natives the title Graos Gala.

These situations correspond well with the story given by Nicetas p. 255. Andronicus, on a sudden alarm that the Turks of Kharax were attacking him, galloped off without stopping towards Khonai; and, then finding that his horse was still able to proceed, he continued his headlong flight to Laodiceia. It is implied that the ride was a long one, but that it was done at one continuous effort<sup>2</sup>. See Ch. I § 11.

This Kharax near lake Anava is probably the same as the 'Kharax of Alexander,' which is mentioned by Stephanus as a place near Kelainai, where Alexander, son of Philip, encamped. There has been a good deal of confusion, both in ancient and in modern times, between the two salt-lakes, Anava and Askania; and probably the legend grew in Roman times that Kharax beside lake Anava was the 'stockade of Alexander.' Cities like Pisidian Apollonia manufactured legends to connect themselves with Alexander the Great<sup>3</sup>; and probably both the Kharax and the Pandokeion of Alexander<sup>4</sup> are examples of similar late legends. Alexander had marched along lake Askania; but the neighbouring lake Anava also was made to claim some connexion with him (see p. 299).

The plain on the west side of the lake, Hambat-Kiri, does not appear to have contained a city which coined money or was ranked as a bishopric. In that case it must have been under the influence of

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐν τῷ Χάρακι Τούρκων Nicet. p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Andronicus had not actually gone as far as Kharax, when he turned; he seems to have got on to the upper plain, which would give a ride of near 30 miles to Laodiceia. The passage of Nicetas is worth reading; it shows much humour and sarcasm.

<sup>3</sup> Apollonia, a city almost as far east

of Apameia as Kharax was west, pretended to be a foundation of Alexander, though it is certain that he never was there, and improbable in the last degree that he had any connexion with its foundation.

<sup>4</sup> Mentioned by Appian *Mithr.* 20 as near Leontoskephalai (which was beside the northern Metropolis of Phrygia near Ayaz-Inn).



some great city situated outside of it; and in all probability Apameia exercised some authority over it, similar to that exercised by Hierapolis over Mossyna Ch. IV § 2. The power of Apameia was very wide, as we shall see in § 12 and Ch. IX. This connexion between Apameia and Kharax would probably facilitate the growth of the Alexander legend and the name Kharax Alexandri.

§ 12. SANAOS OR SANAVOS. The plain east of the salt lake of Anava contains several villages of which only Apa and Bolatli (which lie beside the road) have been visited by travellers. The latter is the seat of a mudur. This plain must have supported a considerable population under the Roman Empire. What then was the town or city situated in it? In favour of Keretapa-Diocaesareia, we might quote Ptolemy's map which seems to place that city on the road between Colossai and Apameia; but one fact seems to be conclusive against it. We have seen that Anava was situated on the lake, about two miles from Bolatli. Now Anava must be the Byzantine bishopric Sanaos, of which the strict form must be Sanavos, as is shown by the form Sanabensis (used in the lists of the Council of Nikaia, A. D. 325)<sup>1</sup>. It is of course possible that there may have been two bishoprics in this fine valley; but probability is against this. The whole valley seems to have been subject to Apameia, which (as Dio Chrysostom says in addressing the citizens) owned a large and populous country with many villages; and this is the reason why no coins of Sanaos exist, in spite of its fine territory and its favourable situation on the Eastern highway. In accordance with the tendency of Byzantine policy, it was made a city and bishopric early in the fourth century; and no doubt Kharax was included along with it. We shall in Ch. IX find reason to think that Valentia, also a former dependency of Apameia, was included in the same bishopric with Sanaos; the entire territory on this side which had belonged to Apameia was constituted a single bishopric.

§ 13. THE LAKE ANAVA. Pliny attributes the bitterness of the water of the lake of Sanaos to the abundance of absinth that grew around it<sup>2</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Compare Synaos, i. e. Σύναφος, which still remains in the form Simav. The loss of initial s is natural in the Greek "Anava: compare Satala or Atala in Lydia, the modern Sandal, and Samisoe or Amisos, the modern Samsun.

<sup>2</sup> II 232 *Lacus Sanaus in Asia circa nascente absinthio inficitur*: MSS. have the readings *Sannaus* and *Sonnaus*; and

Dalecamp gives *Innaus* as occurring in his *Codex Chiffletianus*, which leads him to suggest *Sinnaus*, the vulgate text. The lake beside Synaos, the modern Simav, might certainly be meant, if the reading *Sinnaus* were accepted; but the balance of evidence seems to be in favour of Sannaos. Moreover the lake of Simav is a fresh-water



and in Boissier's *Flora Orientalis*<sup>1</sup> it is mentioned that on the shores of inland salt lakes in Asia Minor *Artemisia Maritima*, a species of absinth, and *Salicornia Herbacea* are abundant. He does not specially mention this lake; but it is the most familiar and often-visited of all the salt lakes, being so near the coast. Pliny also speaks of the reeds that grow in the *Anaiticus Lacus* as being remarkably good for making pens; but it is doubtful whether the statement does not refer to the lake that extends between Synaos and Ancyra in the north-west of Phrygia<sup>2</sup>. The gradual progress of Turkish occupation in the country round lake Anava has been described in relating the conquest of the Lycos valley Ch. I §§ 8, 9, 10. Passing under Turkish power in 1071, it was for the time recovered by John Comnenus. But Manuel seems never to have held it; and it was obviously quite nomadized (except the Christian village Lampe) in 1176.

lake, whereas the lake of Sanaos is bitter and actually bears the name 'Bitter-Salt-Lake.' The land round the former is fertile and highly cultivated, except where it is marshy: the banks of the latter are clad with 'a species of *salicornia*' (Hamilton *Discoveries* I p. 501).

<sup>1</sup> So my friend Prof. Trail of Aberdeen points out to me.

<sup>2</sup> XVI 157: *Probatiores Cnidii (calami) et qui in Asia circa Anaiticum lacum nascuntur*: the MS. reading is *Anaeticum*; Barbarus suggested *Anaiticum*. I have seen immense beds of reeds in

the Simav lake; but do not remember them as characteristic of the lake of Sanaos. Arundel however mentions that he 'could not approach [Adji-Tuz-Göl] for the rushes, among which flowed a spring or two of sweet water,' *Seven Churches* p. 104. Blümner and all other authorities whom I have consulted declare that the lake in question was in the district of Anaitis beyond the Euphrates; but the term *Asia* used by Pliny can hardly be interpreted here (*proprie vocata* V 102) in a sense so wide as to include that district.



## APPENDIX I.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SIBLIAN COUNTRY AND SANAOS.

75. (R. 1891). Duman. Φλάβις Σύμφορο[s] ἐποίησα τὸ μνημε[ῖ]ον τῇ γυναικί μου [P]ουφείνῃ· ἵσς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τεθήσομαι, ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν μοι καὶ τῶν τέκνων· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερος ἐπιτηδεύσει, θήσει ἰς τὸ ταμεῖον (δην.) φ'.

76. (R. 1891). Duman. Τίτος Καμόριος Τίτου υἱὸς Κυρίνα Μαρίν[ω τῷ] ἀπ[ελευθέρω]. It is quite uncertain how much is lost at the end; and the restoration is therefore uncertain. The Roman name Camurius is not common; a Roman would be more likely to come to this remote place, if it were an imperial estate (see § 8). Romans of the tribe Quirina also at Eumeneia and Apameia.

77. (R. 1891). Duman. Αὐρ. Δοῦλος ἱερεὺς ἐγ γέν[ους Ἀρτέμι]δος ἑαυτῷ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ ἐ[γγόνοις? α]ὐτοῦ μνίας χάριν· εἰ δέ [τις ἕτε]ρος ἐπιτηδεύσει, θήσι ἰς [τὸν Καίσαρος φίσκ]ον (δην.). The restoration of the conclusion is uncertain; τὸ ταμεῖον is too short. [Σαράπι]δος is also possible in place of [Ἀρτέμι]δος.

78. (R. 1891). Boz-Eyuk. Published BCH 1893 p. 246 by MM. Le-grand and Chamonard with slight differences (I read οὐδὲ συγγενῆς οὐδὲ ἐξωτικός). Epitaph by Aur. Papias Quintus, son of Papias, the son of Tyrannos, the son of Moitas, to his father and relatives. A fine for violation is payable ἰς εἰκόνα Καίσαρος. The form πλέον for πλὴν occurs.

79. (R. 1883). Sungurlu. Φαμιλλία Μ · · ρου Α · ρελλίου Ἀττικῷ. The letters are coarsely and irregularly engraved on a small marble cippus. This seems to mark the grave of a school of gladiators, which may have been kept here to furnish games at Eumeneia and Apameia; see inscr. 9.

80. (R. 1883). Sungurlu. [Πο]σειδῶνις Τειμοθέου Εὐμενεὺς ἑαυτῷ ζῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ [μ]ο[v] Χρυσογόνη καὶ Ποσειδωνίῳ τῷ υἱῷ [μ]ου καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγγόνῳ κατεσσκεύασα τοῦ[το τὸ ἥ]ρῳ[ον]· μετὰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐμ[βεβλήσθαι]



κὲ] τοὺς ὧδε ἐνγεγραμμένους [ἐπ]ὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ [ἐξουσία οὐκ] ἔσται ἕτερον βαλεῖν. εἰ δέ τις ἐπιχειρήσει ἀνῶξαι ἢ ἕτερον ἐμβαλεῖ μὴ τῶν ὧδε ἐνγεγραμμένων . ΠΑΡΕΑΧΗCC ·, ἔσται ἐπάρατος καὶ θήσει ἰς τὸν ἱερώτατον φίσκον προσ- τ[εῖ]μου (δην.) βφ'. τούτου ἀντίγραφον ἄ[λλο] ἀπετέθη ἰς τὰ ἀρχεῖα<sup>1</sup>. In this village on the road it is not unnatural to find a native of Eumeneia settled.

81. (R. 1891). Tchandir. Illegible epitaph: Tatas son of Diokles to his son.

82. (R. 1883). Khoma. Published BCH 1893 p. 245 by MM. Legrand and Chamonard, with slight difference. [χαίρετε] παροδεῖται παρὰ τοῦ ἡμ[ετέρ]ου Ἑρμίππου· οφ'. Τύχη κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώον τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς.

The letters οφ' may indicate a date, 570 = A. D. 485-6. The φ is of very late form; but the other letters seem to belong to an earlier date. Hermippus was the husband of Tyche.

83. Sari-kavak: published by M. Weber, *Ath. Mitt.* 1893 p. 207. Καλλίστρατος Διοδώρου τὸν τόπον ἀγοράσας παρ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐπισκευάσας μετὰ Διοδώρου καὶ Καλλιστράτου τῶν νιῶν πασῇ κατασκευῇ τῷ δήμῳ. This is interesting as showing that Sanaos could boast of a *bouleuterion* presented by a patriotic citizen; the building must have been a humble one, to judge from this dedicatory inscription. *Addend.* 33.

## APPENDIX II.

### BISHOPS OF SIBLIA AND THE PHRYGIAN TRIPOLIS.

#### 1. Bishops of Siblia.

1. Eulalius Silbii (τῆς ἐν Σιβλιανῶ ἐκκλησίας) 451.
2. Joannes Silbii Σουβλίου 787.
3. Nicephorus Συβλαίας or Σουβλαίου 879.

<sup>1</sup> This inscription was mutilated and hard to read. A fragment of it is given

BCH 1893 p. 245, where the opening word is restored [Ἀμ]μῶνις.



2. BISHOPS OF THE PHRYGIAN TRIPOLIS.			
DATE.	COLOSSAI OR KHONAI.	LOUNDA.	VALENTIA OR SANAOS.
325			Flaccus (Sanabensis)
431			Evagrius deposed (Val.)
451	Epiphanius (Κολασσῶν)		Antiochus (San.)
692	Cosmos (Κολασσαῆς)		<sup>1</sup>
787	Dositheus (Χωνῶν ἥτοι Κολοσσῶν)	Nicephorus Λουνδῶν	Pantaleon (Val.)
860	Samuel (Χωνῶν)		
879	Samuel (Χώνης)	Eustathius	Eusebius ? <sup>2</sup>

Besides the bishops of Colossai and Khonai mentioned in this table, Le Quien adds Epaphras, appointed by St. Paul, *Coloss.* I 7, *Martyrol. Rom.* xiv Kal. Aug.; and thinks that Philemon may have succeeded Epaphras, and that Archippus, who is by some assigned to Colossai, was bishop of Laodiceia.

The following were all metropolitans of Khonai.

Constantinus Χωνῶν Conc. Alexii Patr.

Nicolaos.

—— metropolitans Χωνῶν 1066.

—— metropolitans Χωνῶν 1080.

Nicetas : ἀρχιερεὺς in 1143; mentioned by Nicet. p. 284 <sup>3</sup>. He was godfather of the historian Nicetas Akominatos, who was born about 1150 (Krumbacher *Byz. Litt.-gesch.* p. 87).

<sup>1</sup> Le Quien takes Basilius Κολωνείας as bishop of Valentia in 692; but Ἀκμωνείας is a more probable correction of Κολωνείας. In 431 he gives Nectarius τῆς ἐν Σενέᾳ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας as bishop of Sanaos; but Nectarius was bishop of Sennea or Semnea in Pamphylia: the phrase καὶ ἀποστολικῆς is not in the Latin version, and Labbe gives it

only in the margin of the Greek.

<sup>2</sup> Three bishops, Eusebius, Sisinnius, Basilius, of Synaos are given (besides Michael of Ancyrosynaos). Two of these may be Ignatian and Photian bishops of Synaos; but the third should probably be given to Sanaos.

<sup>3</sup> Nicetas has been omitted by Le Quien; but not by M. Bonnet.



## CHAPTER VII

### LOUNDA, PELTAI, ATTANASSOS

§ 1. Situation and Scenery p. 235.    § 2. Lounda p. 237.    § 3. Peltai p. 239.  
§ 4. Attanassos p. 241.    § 5. Pepouza p. 243.

Appendices : I. Inscriptions p. 245.    II. Krassos of Phrygia p. 247.    III. Bishops p. 249.

§ 1. SITUATION AND SCENERY. A level plain, 35 miles (English) or more in length and 6 or 7 in breadth, extends from Ak-Dagh and Eumeneia (Ishekli) towards the S.W., terminated by the rim of the plateau above the Colossian glen. The level varies little; at the N.W. end it is about 2,750 ft. at the edges, and 2,710 in the middle; towards the S.W. end it is about 2,950 or 3,000. The mountain ridge that overhangs Colossai rises more sharply from the plain than is usual along the outer edge of the central plateau, and reaches the height of 1,000 to 1,500 ft. above the valley. This is the plain of Eumeneia or Peltai; and the S.W. part is the territory of Lounda. The Siblian plain is an extension of it to S.E.; and the Maeander flows along it after passing Siblia. As one approaches from the west, the most striking feature in the view is the huge mass of limestone, called Ak-Dagh, which closes in the valley N.E., dividing the Maeander valley from that of its tributary the Glaukos (Sanduklu-Ova)<sup>1</sup>. It is about 8,000 ft. in height<sup>2</sup>, and snow lies on it late in the summer. The river Glaukos enters the valley at its northern apex, forcing its way by a rough gap between Ak-Dagh and Burgas-Dagh (about 6,000 ft.); the latter runs S. to N., bounding the Banaz-Ova on the east. As the Maeander flows along the valley it has on the left a triangular plateau (Ch. VI § 7), which rises on the west side to the ridge of Besh-Parmak (Ch. V

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<sup>1</sup> Seen from the west, it appears a single mountain; but from the east it is seen to have two distinct summits separated by a deep gap. The Glaukos flows round three sides of it.

<sup>2</sup> Ak-Dagh, the peak towards Ishekli, is 8,186 ft., behind it towards S.E. lies the other, Kara Dagħ or Khoma Dagħ, 7,743 ft.



App. II § 6), and on the right a ridge which stretches from the south end of Burgas-Dagh S.W. to the Hyrgalean Mountains (Tchal-Dagh), rising 600 or 700 ft. above it<sup>1</sup>. This last ridge merges itself in the eastern part of Tchal-Dagh (see next paragraph).

The Maeander, after traversing the Apamean valley, the pass that leads to Sibia and the Siblian country, turns round the apex of the low triangular plateau just described, and flows S.W. down the valley of Eumeneia and Peltai<sup>2</sup>, receiving the waters of the Glaukos (when it is not dry) not far from Peltai. Looking from either end and seeing the length of the level valley, one would naturally fancy that the Maeander flowed through its whole length and found its way into the Colossian glen. But, instead of doing so, the river, when it reaches Lounda, turns sharp to the right underneath the city and flows away due north through a gap in Tchal-Dagh and along the eastern part of Tchal-Ova, between two parallel ridges of Tchal-Dagh; and then after about 12 miles it turns west through a break in the western Tchal-Dagh, separates Dionysopolis from Motella, gradually turns towards the south, and finds its way through a great chasm in the Mossyna mountains amidst magnificent scenery into the Lycos valley. It is remarkable that the country through which it flows for considerable part of this course continues about the same level throughout. The Apamean valley is about 2,800 ft. above the sea; the Siblian and Eumenian about 2,700; the eastern Tchal-Ova about 2,600 or 2,500, and the western about 2,500–300. But the river flows in a channel which is further and further below the valley as we proceed; when it turns round the site of Lounda the cañon is 400 or 500 ft. deep, in the western Tchal-Ova about 500–700, near Dionysopolis about 1,000<sup>3</sup>. It enters the Lycos valley at a level of about 600 ft., while the mountains which it has just traversed rise to 4,000 ft. and further back even 5,000 ft.

Tchal-Dagh, which shuts in the territory of Lounda on the west, consists of a part of the mountain-rim of the Anatolian plateau (the Mossyna mountains Ch. I § 1) and of two parallel ridges which project

<sup>1</sup> Banaz-Ova is about 400 ft. higher on the average than *Regio Eumenetica*. The ridge separating the two is really the raised edge of Banaz-Ova, which slopes gently up to the summit; while the ridge rises sharply on the other side from the Eumenian valley.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny *H. N.* V 113 Amnis Maeander ortus e lacu in Monte Aulocrene . . . .

Apamenam primum pervagatur regionem, mox Eumeneticam, ac dein Hyrgaleticos campos, postremo Cariam placidus.

<sup>3</sup> According to a number of aneroid readings, I estimate the various fords and bridges of the Maeander at 1,270 and 1,340 near Dionysopolis, and at 1,950, 2,070, 2,080 in eastern Tchal-Ova.



northwards from the rim, fringing the two sides of the Maeander. The two ridges consist of flat hills 4,000 ft. high, and are crossed by passes of 3,500 ft. The eastern ridge spreads out to W. at its northern end so as to seem like a continuation of the western ridge, from which the Maeander divides it. The plateau-rim is higher in this part than either of these ridges, and two peaks in it are over 5,000 ft., Kotchelek- (or Tchukalek)-Dagh (5,871 ft.), a broad summit, prominent in the view from all parts of the Lycos valley, and a sharp conical peak which rises straight S. from Demirdji-Keui and is visible from all parts of the Banaz-Ova<sup>1</sup>.

§ 2. LOUNDA. The original site of Lounda was in the sharp angle where the Maeander turns north to enter the Hyrgalean plain<sup>2</sup>. The situation is very strong on a neck of land, nearly surrounded by the cañon of the Maeander. There is a remarkable analogy between the situations of Lounda, Blaundos, and Akmonia<sup>3</sup>. All three are probably old Phrygian cities, though the second at least was refounded by the Greek kings; but in the case of Lounda no evidence remains. In the peaceful Roman times the more pleasant and accessible situation on the opposite side of the river about Isa-bey, Hadjilar, and Mahmud-Ghazi, was preferred; and many remains show that the Roman city was actually built there, while it is probable that the old site was deserted.

Lounda seems to have had the regular constitution of a Greek *polis* with senate and *demos* (inscr. 84-5); and the non-existence of coins, when small places like Bria, and aggregates of villages like those of the Hyrgaleis, had a coinage, remains unexplained. The possibility may, indeed, be mentioned that the coins reading ΦΟΥΛΟΥΙΑΝΩΝ · ΖΜΕΡΤΟΡΙΓΟΣ · ΦΙΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ were struck at Lounda; but the usual assignation to Eumeneia is more probable, though no distinct proof is known: it is more likely that a city which struck coins before and after should strike coins under the temporary name of *Fulvia* than that Lounda should strike one set of coins as *Fulvia* and not strike any more; moreover the existence of a magistrate at Eumeneia under Augustus bearing the rare name of Smertorix<sup>4</sup> and placing it on the

<sup>1</sup> From the centre or northern parts of Banaz-Ova one sees Salbakos, Cadmos, Yan-Dagh, Ai-Doghmush, and Ak-Dagh, rising above and behind the nearer hills of Tchal and Burgas.

<sup>2</sup> Half-way between Eski-Seid on the right bank, and Seid on the left bank of the Maeander.

<sup>3</sup> An exactly similar site is described

under the name of Palaeo-Sebaste in *Cities and Bishoprics* no. XX similarly the site of Lounda might be called Palaeo-Lounda.

<sup>4</sup> The spelling indeed is different, cp. Zmyrna and Smyrna. The name is Gaulish; and means according to Longpérier 'powerful king.'



coins of the city seems too remarkable a coincidence to be accidental. Again it is improbable that if a city in so accessible a position as Lounda had struck coins regularly they should not be known in collections. It is also improbable that it was dependent on any other city, because it seems to have had a complete constitution of the usual Graeco-Roman type; and this same reason prevents us from making it a member of the Koinon of the Hyrgaleans (Ch. IV § 5). We must therefore suppose that it was only a small city so poor as to strike few or no coins. The Hyrgaleans, Colossai, and Peltai, all of which had a larger extent of fertile territory, struck very few coins; and it is probable that Lounda struck still fewer. Possibly inscr. 86 may belong to Lounda, and the coins there mentioned may yet gladden some numismatist with the legend ΠΑΡΑ · ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ · ΛΟΥΝΔΕΩΝ. The custom that rich citizens should defray the cost of striking coins for their state was widely spread, and is often expressly mentioned on the coins themselves; but this is the only inscription known to me in which it is so emphatically mentioned<sup>1</sup>. The record that he struck coins is given as the climax of the services rendered to the state by Apollodotos.

Inscriptions 84 and 85 reveal the existence at Lounda of a Senate and a body of *Neoi*; while 86 (which may however belong to Peltai) mentions a board consisting of at least two *Strategoi*. These scanty hints make it certain that Lounda was an organized *polis*, similar in type to Laodiceia.

Except in inscriptions Lounda is never mentioned till we come down to the Byzantine period. Hierocles and the later *Notitiae* give it, the former between Peltai and Attanassos<sup>2</sup>, the latter next to Attanassos. The earlier *Notitiae* omit it. The difference might lead one to suppose that Lounda was made a bishopric by Leo VI; but the corrupt *Ἀρδίδων* of the *Notitiae* published by De Boor should certainly be corrected to *Λούνδων*, which would prove that the changes introduced not later than the earlier Iconoclasts included the elevation of Lounda to be a bishopric; and the same inference follows from the presence of Nicephorus bishop of Lounda at Nikaia in 787.

A solitary reference to the plain of Lounda occurs in A.D. 1176, when Manuel Comnenus made a slight effort against the Seljuks, and

<sup>1</sup> Legends with *διά* (Carian and Laodicean p. 166) or *παρά* (Apamean p. 276) exemplify this custom; also the coins of Tripolis and Hierapolis with the verb *ἐπιχαράττειν*, p. 107. Eckhel adds the coins with legend *ἀνέθηκεν* D. N. IV

p. 373, suggesting that the coins were a *congiarium* distributed to the whole people; but this last suggestion narrows the reference too much.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming here that Krassos in Hierocles is a mere error, see App. II.



advanced from the Lycos valley against the nomad Turks who lived in their tents in Lakerion and Panasion. The latter evidently is the Banaz-Ova; and Lakerion must therefore be the Baklan-Ova, for Manuel marched first against Lakerion and then onwards against Panasion. We see then that his march was up the Lycos, then into Baklan-Ova, and then into Banaz-Ova. In actual fact there is no other route by which an army starting from the Lycos could safely attack an enemy in the Banaz-Plain. In all probability Lakerion is, like Panasion, a Byzantine representation of the Turkish name; and, if so, it seems to be Ala-Kir, a very natural and characteristic Turkish name for the Baklan-Ova<sup>1</sup>. I have never indeed heard it in modern use, but a village of the plain is called Kir-Aghlan to distinguish it from Bair-Aghlan, which lies among the hilly country north of Colossai. There is, moreover, a village at the head of the pass leading up from the Colossian glen to the Baklan-Ova, called Ala-Kurt: so at least the name sounded to me in 1883, but I may have mistaken Kir for Kurt 'wolf<sup>2</sup>,' when Turkish was still unfamiliar.

§ 3. PELTAI. This city lay on the *anabasis* of the younger Cyrus from Sardis to Susa 401 B.C. Cyrus marched in two days from Kelainai to Peltai, a distance of 10 parasangs, i.e. about 30 miles<sup>3</sup>. The only clue which Xenophon gives to the direction is that from this point Cyrus marched 12 parasangs, i.e. about 36 miles, to Keramon Agora, the last on the confines of Mysia. There can be no question that this denotes some place on the northern skirts of Banaz-Ova; and I now feel compelled by the distances of the whole route to consider that Hamilton has approximated more closely than any other scholar to the real situation. The distances point to a place a little east of Ushak (where Hamilton placed it), but west of Islam-Keui or Susuz-Keui (where I formerly thought it should be put). Here we are in the country of the Grimenothyritai, near a city which was afterwards called Trajanopolis; and perhaps we may recognize an echo of the native Germeno-teira in the grecized Keramon-agora. However that may be, it seems clear that this is the Mysian frontier p. 196, and that Akmonia (to which Islam-Keui and Susuz-Keui perhaps belonged) was an essentially and recognizedly Phrygian city.

We see that Cyrus turned back from Kelainai towards the west or north-west. The reason for this change must be sought in the

<sup>1</sup> Kir means a waterless plain; Ala 'spotted' or 'speckled' is a very common element in Turkish names, as Ala-Sheher, Ala-Dagh, &c. See Nicet. p. 254 and above Ch. I § 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ala-Kurt is marked on Kiepert's new map; but I believe that my statement is his authority. It is placed a little too far south in his map.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 160 note.



situation in which the Persian prince found himself. He was in command of an army whose entire strength, as he well knew, lay in the Greek mercenaries. Many of these were recently levied; and 6,000 had joined him only at Kelainai. It was necessary to make sure of their inclination to follow him before he actually advanced against the capital. They had to be accustomed to himself, and their affections had to be conciliated, before he could venture to rebel openly. But, if he marched at once to the east from Kelainai, such an advance would be equivalent to throwing off the mask; his intentions would be too patent. He therefore turned back towards the heart of his satrapy again, no doubt keeping up the pretence that he was engaged on a progress through his province to regulate and pacify it. In this way he went down the Maeander to the chief city of the great Peltene plain.

The Peutinger Table mentions Pella, i.e. Peltai at the side of the road Eumeneia-Apameia, in the same way as it mentions Temnos beside the road Smyrna-Cyme; and in both cases the road to which the adscribed name belongs has been omitted owing to bad drawing. The Roman road Dorylaion-Meros-Kone-Brouzos-Eumeneia was intended to connect the north-eastern districts with the Maeander valley and the coast, and it naturally went on by Peltai and Lounda to Laodiceia. Peltai then was situated on the line of road Eumeneia-Laodiceia at a point that suits Xenophon's narrative. These conditions bring us near Karayashilar, or Muglitch, where many ancient remains exist. Near them two sites vie in suitability, one between them, and the other a mile or two west towards Yaka Keui. Each is a large isolated mound or little hill, to a great extent natural, rising sharply about 50 to 100 ft. above the level valley, and showing numerous traces of ancient life; both sites are of the Seleucid type, lying in the line of communication, yet capable of being strongly fortified (Ch. II § 2). Without excavation it is hardly possible to choose between them; but the northern is perhaps preferable. This situation was actually on the line of a Roman road, a milestone from which is known (inscr. 87). It suits all the conditions, being in the most favourable situation for using the wealth of the valley, while it is sufficiently distant from the later and rival foundation, Eumeneia.

Peltai ruled the territory between Eumeneia and Lounda. In this level plain there is no natural demarcation on either side. The country is fertile and, for Turkey, well cultivated; and in such cases there is always greater destruction of ancient monuments. Hence no memorial of city-life during the centuries following Xenophon's visit



has been found on the spot. But the coins ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ · ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ show that a Macedonian colony was founded here either before or during Seleucid domination. If it is true that the Macedonian foundations Peltai and Blaundos 'imply a supplementary route from Thyatira and Sardis to Apameia' (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 44), we are confirmed in the opinion that we should look for Peltai on the more northerly of the two possible sites.

It was probably in the second century<sup>1</sup> that the Peltai, being in some domestic trouble, found it advisable to appeal (according to a common custom of the period) to another Greek city, situated at such a distance as to be quite out of relation to the parties on either side. Antandros was selected; and it sent an arbiter and a clerk, whose judicious action is recorded in a vote of thanks to their city and themselves CIG 3568 *f. add.* A copy of this decree was to be placed in the *hieron* of Zeus Peltenos; and may perhaps yet be discovered. This Zeus appears as a type on coins of Peltai, which show rather Seleucid than Pergamenian analogies<sup>2</sup>.

It may, however, be supposed that the foundation of Eumeneia curtailed the power and prosperity of Peltai. No coins are known with names of the early emperors; they begin, according to Mionnet, under Antoninus Pius, see *inscr.* 86.

§ 4. ATTANASSOS is first mentioned at the Council of Chalcedon A.D. 451, where its bishop Philadelphus was represented by his metropolitan Nounechius of Laodiceia. A place which already ranked as a bishopric should naturally be expected in Hierocles: but the name does not occur in his list. We find, however, that he gives *Κράσος*, *Λοῦνδα*, and the later *Notitiae* have *Ἀττανασσός*, *Λοῦνδα*. Now Krassos is otherwise unknown as a city of Phrygia<sup>3</sup>; and the suspicion arises that Krassos here represents Attanassos. The names in this part of Hierocles' list are corrupt to an extraordinary degree<sup>4</sup>, and Krassos may be merely an error, though the possibility must be left open that it is another name for the same place; but, however this may be, a comparative table of the Byzantine lists proves that we must identify the two.

There is a village Aidan on the bank of the Glaukos, about five

<sup>1</sup> Böckh dates the *inscr.* in third century; but Peltai would hardly go to Antandros during the long wars between the Seleucid and Pergamenian kings. Probably the date is shortly after 190 B.C., during the difficulties of the new regime.

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<sup>2</sup> So, e. g., Pallas with Corinthian helmet, a type on Peltene coins, is analogous to Seleucid coins, whereas the Pergamenian Pallas has an Attic helmet.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix II.

<sup>4</sup> Konioupolis for Dionysoupolis, Sitoupolis for Anastasioupolis.



miles W.S.W. of Eumeneia; and about a mile east of it is a large and fine mosque attached to the tomb of a *dede*<sup>1</sup>. There is no village at the place, which is called sometimes Eski-Aidan, and sometimes Dede-Keui. The mosque is now shut up, and the door locked; and the revenue which once supported it has been diverted to other purposes by the Turkish government. This foundation preserves the sanctity of an ancient site; and the name Aidan seems to be the modern form of the old Attanassos.

The permanence of religious feeling, and the persistence with which it has clung to particular localities amid all changes in the outward form of the dominant religion, is one of the most remarkable features of the history of Asia Minor. This fact often aids us to localize the ancient names. No religious fact has perished except where population has actually become extinct; and even where population has entirely disappeared a small religious foundation alone exists to prove that human life and religious feeling once had a home here. It would be difficult to find a case of Mohammedan religious foundation in Asia Minor, especially at a now deserted locality, which is not the transformation of an ancient religious foundation. The fine old mosque, now desolate and solitary, preserves the religious character of the old bishopric.

In this valley we have, then, three cities, the Pergamenian colony of Eumeneia, the Seleucid colony of Macedonians at Peltai, and the bishopric of Attanassos with its Mohammedan *dede*. Here we have an exact parallel to the facts which we find in so many districts of Phrygia: amid an old Phrygian population Macedonian and Pergamenian settlements were planted, and each retained its distinct and separate existence. Attanassos would appear to have been the old Phrygian religious centre of the valley, situated at some little distance from Peltai (a Phrygian city before it became a Macedonian colony).

Under the Roman empire it was perhaps only a village subject to Eumeneia; but its religious importance gave it a higher place in the ecclesiastical system. We may, however, doubt whether it was made a bishopric in the earlier centuries. It had a bishop in 451; but we observe that Eumeneia is not represented at the Council, although Nounechius signed on behalf of his suffragans who were absent. The suspicion therefore may be entertained that even in the fifth century Attanassos and Eumeneia had a joint bishop. Before 787,

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<sup>1</sup> A *dede* (lit. *ancestor*) may be roughly described as a *saint*, though the name belongs to a totally different order of ideas. See Ch. I § 13.



however, they became separate bishoprics, probably not later than Justinian.

The Roman inscriptions of Attanassos belong therefore to its *polis* Eumeneia; its interest lies only in its religious connexion, and inscr. 88 (an inscription of Eumeneia) probably refers to the religion of Attanassos when it mentions the old Phrygian cultus of Angdistis mother of the gods and the Good Genius. Two of the most remarkable and important early Christian inscriptions are built into the walls of the old mosque, showing that probably the new religion had a strong hold in the neighbourhood of the old *hieron*.

Eumeneia should naturally come in for consideration at this point; but its importance demands a long separate chapter.

§ 5. PEPOUZA. One objection to this localization of Attanassos must be mentioned. The order of Hierocles puts Krassos between Sitoupolis (Anastasiopolis) and Lounda, whereas Attanassos is close to Eumeneia. But we observe that Hierocles arranges his list in geographical groups, and there is often a gap between the last of one group and the first of the next. The *Eumenetica Regio* contains Attanassos, Lounda, Peltai, Eumeneia, Sibia, and it is parted by a gap from Anastasiopolis at the beginning and from Pepouza at the end. Hierocles goes from Tchal-Ova (which is the southern part of Banaz-Ova) to the Eumenian plain, and afterwards returns to Banaz-Ova, in which he proceeds from south to north. It would have been possible that the enumeration in Tchal-Ova and Banaz-Ova should proceed in a continuous order; but it was geographically worse to finish the Banaz-Ova and then return south to the outlying *Regio Eumenetica* than to insert the group of cities of the latter at some suitable point in the former, although the inserted group must come in rather awkwardly, wherever it is placed.

We think then, that in returning from Sibia to the Banaz-Ova we may try to take up the list of Hierocles at the point where we parted from it. We should then have the following group of cities of this great district, Dionysopolis, Anastasiopolis, Pepouza, Bria, Sebaste, Aloudda, Akmonia; and the geographical order is so well marked here as regards all the places which are known, that it seems the safest course to follow the order in regard to the obscure Pepouza and Bria. In that case Pepouza would be the site to which belong the inscriptions and remains of Deli-Heuderli, Suretli, Karib-Hassan<sup>1</sup>, &c.;

<sup>1</sup> The village Pouza or Pazon, where a synod of Novatians was held, was near the source of the Sangarios; but it seems

to bear the same name. The Byzantine personal name Pouzanes is perhaps connected with one or other of these villages.



while Bria would lie between it and Sebaste, possibly at Burgas (*πύργος*).

The name Pepouza seems to be a reduplicated form; and as we have Pasa and Paspasa, Salouda and Salsalouda (p. 156), so possibly Pouza and Pepouza are equivalent. The religious importance of the place is maintained by the large village of Karghali or Karahalli, where there is a *medressé*.

It was necessary to discuss the situation at this point; but the antiquities of Pepouza will occupy us in a later chapter.



## APPENDIX I.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF LOUNDA, PELTAI, AND ATTANASSOS.

It is not easy to distinguish these from each other and from those of Eumeneia. Transport is easy across the plain; and stones are often taken on a waggon returning empty, if the owner is building or wants a grave-stone. Lounda is at a greater distance, and doubt arises only in one of its inscriptions; but Peltai, Attanassos, and Eumeneia are very near each other. We shall class together under Eumeneia all the sepulchral inscriptions, which have no interest except as presenting general types; these three towns, being close together, agree in their social and religious character. But a few which seem to have some right to be classed to Peltai or to Attanassos will be given here. Those found at Aidan or in the mosque being attributed to the latter, while those found at Muglitch or west of it are attributed to Peltai. Those found at Tchivril, Yakasomak, Omar-Keui, and similar places are uncertain, and must be classed by internal analogy. But the number which have any interest and repay classification is very small.

84. (R. 1887: Sterrett 1883 and Hogarth 1887). Isa-Bey. [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λ. Σ]επτίμιο[ν Σεουήρ]ον Περτίνακ[α ἀνίκη]τον<sup>1</sup> Αὐγοῦστ[ον Ἀρα]βικὸν Ἀδιαβηνικὸν [ἡ β]ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος ὁ Λ]ουνδέων. The date is between 195 and 199. From this inscription we may restore the fragment copied by Hamilton No. 348 ἡ βο[ουλὴ κ]αὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος ὁ Λουνδ]έων, where Franz in CIG 3902 u restores [Τραλ]λέων, and Waddington *Mél. Numism.* I p. 105 [Υργα]λέων: in this half-obliterated text (of which Hamilton could read only a few letters here and there), it is perfectly allowable to treat Λ in the copy as Δ.

85. (R. 1887). Published by Hogarth<sup>2</sup>, No. 38. Near Seid. οἱ νέου

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<sup>1</sup> [Μέγισ]τον is also possible; but I see no example where it follows the name immediately, while [ἀνίκη]τος does in CIG 1216, 1217. <sup>2</sup> See inscr. 37.



Διονύσιον τὸν γραμματοφύλακα· ἐν ᾧ οὐδεὶς ἕτερος κηδευθή[σεται]. Seid is on the border of the Hyrgalean territory ; but close to the site of Lounda. A college of *Neoi* is not likely to have existed in any of the Hyrgalean villages. The college had officials, an administrative office, and a keeper of official documents ; and it here honours with a tombstone one of these keepers.

86. Kavaklar : copied by Sterrett 1883 ; I vainly tried to find it in 1888, in order to verify the restoration of the last word. Α[ὐ]τοκράτορα Καίσαρα Ἀδριανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Εὐσεβῆ, Ἀπολ[λ]όδοτος Δ[ιο]δώρου, [σ]τρατηγῶν τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ τοῦ πατρός, ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀνέστησεν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τῆς [εἰς τὸν Κύριον καὶ φιλοτειμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, κόψας καὶ νομ]ίσμα[τα].

Kavaklar lies between Lounda and Peltai ; and it is not possible to determine certainly to which city the inscription belongs, but the one copied by Hamilton (see under 84) was found not far from Kavaklar, while a zone of inscriptionless villages lies between it and Peltai. Probability therefore assigns this text to Lounda ; and in that case perhaps the marked reference to the coins is due to their being the first struck at the city <sup>1</sup>. Peltai resumed coining at this time, p. 241.

87. (R. 1887). Baljik-Hissar. Ἀγαθὴ [Τύχη]. Αὐτοκράτορι [Καί]σαρι Γ. Μεσσίῳ [Κυ]ίντῳ Τρ[αι]ανῷ Δεκίῳ καὶ Ἑρενίᾳ Ἑ[τρ]ουσκί[λλ]ῃ σεβαστῇ Μι. Δ. Afterwards there was rudely scratched in smaller letters, between the names and the number, a dedication [Κυ]ίντῳ Ἑρεννί[ῳ] Δεκ[ί]ῳ καὶ Ἑ[τρ]ουσκίλλει <sup>2</sup>. *Κυίντῳ* (both defective and wrong), which was added in 250 after the two sons of Decius, Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius and C. Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus, were named Caesar.

88. Copied by Hamilton (cemetery between Omer-Keui and Ishekli) and by M. Paris BCH 1884 p. 237 (cimetière à côté d'Ishekli). I give a different restoration from Letronne, Böckh, or Paris. ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί[μη]σεν Αὐρήλιον ? Μόνιμον Ἀρίστων[ος Ζηνόδο ?]τον, λαμπαδάρχην, ἱ[ε]ρέα Διὸς Σωτήρος, καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος, καὶ] Μηνὸς Ἀσκαηνοῦ, [καὶ Μητρὸς] θεῶν Ἀνγδίστεω[s καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ] Δαίμονος, καὶ Εἰσε[ιδος, καὶ Σε]βαστῆς Εἰρήνης, σ[τρατηγὸν] τῆς πόλεως τὸ ἕκτον, [χρεοφυλα]κήσαντα, καὶ ἐγλογισ[τεύσαντα], καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα, [καὶ εἰρηναρ]χήσαντα, καὶ παραφ[υλάξαντα, καὶ γραμ]-μ[α]τεύ[σαντα].

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Alexander of Otrous, whose name appears on many coins when it began to strike, is honoured as *Founder* in an inscription.

<sup>2</sup> This name is perhaps wrongly copied, the letters being very faint and rude.



I have twice vainly hunted for this inscription. M. Paris was more fortunate or more skilful. The restorations in the first two lines are only given to show the formula and probable extent, but are both certainly wrong. The rest are probably correct. At the end M. Paris read ΠΑΡΑΦΕ. See Vol. II Ch. X § 2, 3.

89. (Sterrett 1883). Lounda. Ἀρπαλος [Ἰκε?]σίου Παπᾶς [Ἰκ?]αρία τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ μνήμ[ης] ἔνεκον (sic).

90. (Sterrett 1883). Lounda. C. Apla[sius C?. F.] Ani(ensi). Γᾶος Ἀπ[λάσιος Γ.] υἱὸς Ἀ[νιηνσ.]. The name Aplasius is quoted from Orelli 4522 only.

## APPENDIX II.

### KRASSOS OR KRASOS OF PHRYGIA.

KRASSOS OF PHRYGIA, which is identified by Wesseling in his notes with the Krassos of Hierocles, is mentioned twice by Theophanes. He says (p. 414 ed. De Boor) that it was in the Opsikian Theme; Constantine in A.D. 742 ἐξελθὼν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Ὀψικίου κατὰ τῶν Ἀράβων ἦλθεν ἐν τῇ λεγομένῃ Κρασῶ; Artavasdos was at Dorylaion with the Opsikian troops; each suspected the other; communications passed between them. As Constantine had advanced from Constantinople, we should expect that Krasos was on the great military road (*Hist. Geogr.* ch. G) which led to Dorylaion and the east. The Opsikian Theme included Hellespontus, the Lydian Katakekaumene and Midaion: and Krassos therefore cannot be far outside of these limits. In another passage, p. 481, Theophanes says that Nicephorus went forth from the capital against the Arabs and fought with them at Krasos of Phrygia. Krassos therefore lay on one of the great lines of communication along which the Arab campaigns were conducted. Nicephorus Patr. p. 67 adds the information that Krassos was not a city but a plain (τὸ πεδίον δὲ Κρασὸς προσαγορεύεται); it is therefore evidently the place alluded to by Galen περὶ τροφ. δυν. I p. 312 Νίκαια καὶ Προῦσα καὶ Κράσσου καὶ Κλαυδιούπολις καὶ Ἰουλιούπολις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Δορύλαιον ἥ ἐστι μὲν ἐσχάτη τῆς Ἀσιανῆς Φρυγίας (where Wesseling wrongly proposes to read Κράτεια for Κράσσου). The peculiar genitive implies that some term is understood with Κράσσου, and the passage of Nicephorus Patr. shows that πεδίον is the term. The plain of Krassos, as we further infer from Galen, was in the province Bithynia, in that part of Phrygia which was included in Bithynia.



Krassos then was a plain on a road leading from Constantinople to the east, not very far from Dorylaion, situated in the country of Phrygia and in the Roman province Bithynia; now there are only three roads which can be taken into consideration, (1) the pilgrims' road to Ancyra (*Hist. Geogr.* pp. 197, 240), (2) the great military road to Dorylaion, (3) the road to Kotiaion<sup>1</sup>, which was also of considerable importance in these wars (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 199). The road to Ancyra does not suit the conditions, for it does not pass through territory that was ordinarily recognized as Bithynia. Krassos therefore was situated on one of the others. But there is no plain between Inn-oñu and Kotiaion on the one road, and between Inn-oñu and Dorylaion on the other. Further, we cannot suppose that Constantine had advanced through Dorylaion before the negotiations with Artavasdos began; for Dorylaion was the great *aplekton* of the Opsikian Theme, where the army should concentrate to accompany the Emperor in his onward march against the Arabs, and Artavasdos was its commander. Constantine therefore halted on the road to Dorylaion in a plain, either at Inn-oñu or further north. Here Artavasdos suddenly attacked him, and he escaped only by a hasty flight to Amorion. This seems a difficulty; for the direct road to Amorion (by Dorylaion) was in the hands of his enemies. But there was a longer road by way of Kotiaion, which we must suppose that Constantine took. In his position he could not return to Constantinople; for he had no army, and the Orthodox party (which favoured Artavasdos) was strong there. It was necessary for him to collect an army; and Amorion, one of the greatest military centres of the Oriental Theme (which was generally favourable to Iconoclasts and other heretics), was the place that promised best. At Inn-oñu he was at a fork in the road, and he fled south along the road to Kotiaion; here therefore the facts of the case lead us to place Krassos. There is at Inn-oñu a high-lying valley, perfectly flat and almost a swamp, perhaps the only valley on the road; this consideration alone would determine the situation of Krassos. There can be no doubt that this district was commonly reckoned to be Phrygian; and though we cannot be sure that it was in the Roman province Bithynia, yet that is made probable by the words of Galen just quoted<sup>2</sup>. This district seems to

<sup>1</sup> This route coincided with one of the two roads to Dorylaion as far as Inn-oñu (whence one path went right to Kotiaion, and one left to Dorylaion). It is uncertain which of the two routes to Dorylaion was taken by the military road; but probably it took the Inn-oñu route (that of the modern railway).

Constantine certainly could not take the other route by Suyut, as there is no side road to Kotiaion forking from it.

<sup>2</sup> In the map, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 178, the boundary of the provinces is made to pass through Inn-oñu, which is there termed Basilika: I should now be inclined to place there Gordorinia.



have borne the general name Gordos in Byzantine time (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 209 f), and to have contained three bishoprics—Gordorinia, Gordoserba, and Nova Justinianopolis Gordi.

The question then arises—can there be any connexion between the names Krassos and Gordos or Gordios? Can Krassos go back to a form Krat-yo-s or Kart-yo-s? If that be admitted, then Kart-yo-s is equivalent to the familiar Gordios, where the vocalization varies as in Tataion-Tottaion (in this same district, but more to N.E.) and the other examples quoted on p. 153<sup>1</sup>.

I may add that formerly I made the error of placing Krassos a little East from Dorylaion, failing to observe that the negotiations between Artavasdos and Constantine imply that the latter was still on his way to Dorylaion, when he was attacked by Artavasdos, and that therefore Krassos, where he lay, must have been between Constantinople and Dorylaion.

### APPENDIX III.

#### BISHOPS OF LOUNDA, PELTAI, ATTANASSOS.

Nicephorus Λούνδων *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787.

Eustathius Λούνδης (Λιβάδων) 879.

Philippos πόλεως Πελτῶν (sic!) *Conc. Chalced.* 451.

Andreas Πέλτων (and Πελτηνῶν) *Conc. Constantinop.* 536.

Theodorus πόλεως Πέμπων *Conc. Quinisext.* 692.

Georgius Πέλτων *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787.

Philadelphius πόλεως Ἀθανασοῦ (Athanassi) *Conc. Chalced.* 451.

Christophorus Ἀθανασσοῦ *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787.

Philotheos Ἀθανασσοῦ *Conc.* 869 (?).

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<sup>1</sup> See also *Addenda* on Lampa-Olompia. I believe that Kotys (Kotyaion) and Kadys (Κάδοι for Κάδοφοι) afford

a perfect parallel to the identity of Kartyos and Gordios.



## CHAPTER VIII

### VALLEY OF THE KAZANES AND INDOS

§ 1. Natural Features and Ethnology p. 250.    § 2. Themisonion p. 252.  
§ 3. Eriza p. 253.    § 4. Phylakaion p. 255.    § 5. History of the Kazanes Valley  
p. 257.    § 6. The State of Themisonion p. 260.    § 7. Thampsioupolis p. 261.  
§ 8. Agathe Kome p. 261.    § 9. The Saviour-God p. 262.    § 10. Cibyra and  
the Asian Cibyratis p. 265.    § 11. The Asian Cibyratis and Kabalis p. 266.  
§ 12. The Turkish Conquest p. 268.

Appendices: I. Inscriptions of the Kazanes Valley and the Cibyratis p. 269.  
II. Bishops of Themisonion, Cibyra, and Lagbe p. 274.

§ 1. NATURAL FEATURES AND ETHNOLOGY. From M. Kadmos a ridge stretches south for a long way, till at last it sinks down to the pass that leads by Bey-Keui to Tefeni and the Lysis valley. Beyond that pass the hills rise again to the great Rahat-Dagh, which stretches N.E. to S.W., forming part of one of the chains of M. Taurus. Parallel to this ridge another stretches south from M. Salbakos; and between the two lies a long valley, the northern part of which is now called Kara-Eyuk-Ova. The view from the pass, 4,200 feet high, by which the road crosses to Kara-Eyuk-Ova from Laodiceia<sup>1</sup>, shows a narrow valley, bounded east and west by mountains that spring abruptly from the plain, and ending at the far south in a low ridge (hiding the lake of Göl-Hissar, Alimne), behind which (and beyond the lake) rise the mountains of the main Taurus chain. The general impression from the northern pass is that we are gazing down the valley of a river that flows to the south (towards the unseen lake). But in reality the valley slopes from both ends down to its lowest point about the middle. The lake of Göl-Hissar lies in a separate basin, barely divided from the long valley by a little rising-ground: it rests against M. Taurus, and has no drainage, except perhaps (as

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<sup>1</sup> The road ascends the glen of the river Kadmos, turns left over a high pass, and then descends south to the Kara-Eyuk-Ova. This was the road by which Louis of France marched in 1148 Ch. I

§ 9; and it was evidently on the high pass that the great struggle occurred. From this pass one looks up to the main peak of M. Kadmos, towering high overhead.



is common in the lakes that lie in a similar position along the northern front of Taurus) by hidden channels under the mountains towards the coast-valleys.

The river Indos, rising from the region of Cibyra (which lies on higher ground west from the southern end of the valley), flows north up the valley to its west point near Beder-Bey<sup>1</sup>, where it is joined by the Kazanes flowing south from M. Kadmos; and the united waters find their way through a pass in the western ridge towards the western sea, forming during part of their course the boundary between Lycia and Caria. The Kazanes is also fed by a stream coming from the high-lying valley of Khoros and Geune, through a gorge in the eastern ridge.

Themisonion is the chief city of the Kazanes valley, Cibyra of the Indos valley, and Eriza lies not far from the junction in a strong situation on the eastern hills near Dere-Keui. The history and the topography of this district are inextricably intertwined and must be treated together. Hardly any allusions occur in our authorities to any part of it, except Cibyra. Pausanias refers to the invasion of the Gauls, and Livy describes in brief terms the march of Cn. Manlius Vulso through it in his predatory raid 189 B.C. Strabo alludes to it very briefly, and his words are in several points so obscure as to show that he had no clear conception of its situation and had not seen it himself. Yet the valley must have been very important during the third and second centuries B.C. The great route from Pergamos and the north-west to Pamphylia and Cyprus passes through it; and much of the struggle between the Seleucid and the Pergamenian kings took place in it. We learn more about the character of that struggle, so far as its influence on the social conditions of Asia Minor is concerned, in this district than in any other part of Phrygia.

No name is known for the valley as a whole. It has been called by Cramer and others the Killanian plain, but incorrectly (Ch. IX). It is certain (as we shall see) that the southern part of the valley, including the territory of Cibyra, was reckoned by Strabo as part of Kabalis, but the northern part including the territory of Themisonion was assigned by him, p. 576, to Phrygia. The tribe Erizenoi, the original population of the Kazanes valley, however, seems to have been reckoned by Strabo as Pisidian<sup>2</sup>, on which were superinduced

<sup>1</sup> The Austrian Expedition and Prof. Kiepert give the name as Peder-Bey (Peder means *father*); Beder is an Arabic name (compare Bedr-ed-din).

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy puts the Erizenoi in Caria

on the Phrygian frontier; but Strabo, who considered that the valley of Tabai contained a mixed Phrygian and Pisidian population, cannot have considered the Erizenoi as Carians. He actually



various strata of colonists in the progress of history. His opinion is fully confirmed by the local inscriptions, which show that in spite of the later colonists, the population remained at bottom Pisidian. The gods who protect the graves, the gods from whom the people come and to whom they return at death, are the old 'Pisidian Gods.' The personal names corroborate the inference that naturally arises from this fact: many are non-Greek, and among them occurs Pisides (BCH 1889 p. 342. See also inscr. 91-5). If the Kazanes valley was fundamentally Pisidian, much more was the population of the Indos valley strictly Pisidian and not Phrygian.

§ 2. THEMISONION. The name is derived from the personal name Themison, which is Greek, not Anatolian. The city, then, is a Greek colony founded on the road from Pamphylia to the Lycos and Hermos valleys; and Droysen has rightly seen that the name is derived from Themison, the powerful favourite of Antiochus II (261-48)<sup>1</sup>. The earliest fact recorded of it is the flight of its inhabitants before an invasion of the Gauls; but as the city was not founded at the time of the earliest Gaulish invasions under Antiochus I, we must assign the event to the raids between 246 and 230 (if it be not a mere late legend, as we shall see some reason to suspect).

Themisonion, then, was founded by Antiochus II; and we may safely attribute the foundation to the latest years of his reign. It presupposes the deification of Themison as Herakles; and that in its turn presupposes the deification of Antiochus, which was voted by the Milesians in 251<sup>2</sup>.

M. Waddington was the first to show what was the approximate situation of Themisonion and Eriza. Correcting his argument in some details, I may repeat its main scope. Manlius on his march from the Maeander valley towards Pamphylia, passed by Antiocheia, Gordiou-teichos, and Tabai. On the third day from Tabai, he arrived at the river Kazanes<sup>3</sup>; on the following day he carried by assault the city Eriza; and on the day after he reached a fort Thabusion, overhanging the river Indos and not far distant from Cibyra. Coins of Themisonion mention the river KAZANHΣ. Now the course of the

mentions Tabai as a Pisidian city p. 570, though on p. 576 he gives it as Phrygian, while on p. 629 it is mixed Phrygian and Pisidian.

<sup>1</sup> Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenism.* II p. 713; cp. Babelon *Rois de Syrie* p. lxi. Its situation is of the Seleucid type (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 85), being in the open

plain, with a tumulus (Kara-Eyuk, Black-Mound) as citadel. Peltai occupied a similar situation.

<sup>2</sup> Babelon l. c.

<sup>3</sup> MSS read chaum amnem, cahum amnem, causamenem, casuannem, casum amnem, casuamenem: Waddington *Mél. de Numism.* I p. 110.



march from Tabai must have been past Apollonia and Sebastopolis, and the river that Manlius reached must have been that which flows past Kara-Eyuk-Bazar, draining the valley of Kizil Hissar, Kai Hissar, and Adjı Payam<sup>1</sup>. Themisonion then must be in the valley of this river; and Eriza must be within a short day's march south or south-east from it in the general direction of the march.

In 1884 and 1886 we visited most of the villages of the Kazanes valley. The ancient site of the district is Kara-Eyuk-Bazar, almost in its centre, where the market of the district is held, though the seat of government is now at Adjı Payam (a *kaimmakamlık*). A large mound at the former gives it its name (Black-Mound-Market) and conceals within it the remains of ancient life. A milestone and various other inscriptions are in the village; but as this has been a centre of modern life, inscriptions are very likely to have been carried to it, and it is not safe to conclude without careful consideration that those which are found there actually belong to the ancient site<sup>2</sup>.

Themisonion is put in the Peutinger Table on the road leading from Laodiceia to Perga<sup>3</sup>. The expression of Pausanias, 'Themisonion, which is situated above Laodiceia,' indicates a city on a road leading from Laodiceia to a higher plateau: this precisely describes Kara-Eyuk-Bazar. The order of Hierocles, who gives the cities of Southern Phrygia as Keretapa, Themisonion, Valentia, suits a situation in this valley. Finally Ptolemy places Themisonion on the south-western frontier of Phrygia (V 2, 26 and 27, cp. § 4); and there can be no doubt that Kara-Eyuk, which lies on the road from Laodiceia to Cibyra, must have been in the same *conventus* with them and therefore in Phrygia. It may therefore be laid down as a starting-point in our investigation, that Themisonion was probably situated at Kara-Eyuk-Bazar.

§ 3. ERIZA. Some evidence is given by the change in the limits of Phrygia under Diocletian. The Byzantine lists make the limits clear.

<sup>1</sup> He crossed the river a little above its junction with the Indos, and then marched on Eriza. I cannot admit the unhesitating statement of MM. Cousin and Diehl, followed by M. Bérard (BCH 1889 p. 339, 1891 p. 562), that Manlius crossed the Kazanes at Kara-Eyuk-Bazar. Let any one who doubts me traverse both roads; and I am confident that he will end by agreeing with me, if he has any eye for the conditions of a march.

<sup>2</sup> In the sequel, however, we shall see that all inscriptions hitherto found at Kara-Eyuk-Bazar probably stood in the ancient Themisonion.

<sup>3</sup> It is true that the Table mixes up two roads leading south to Perga, one from Laodiceia, the other from Apameia by Cormasa; but the testimony of Pausanias is conclusive that Themisonion was on the first of these two roads.



The frontier between Caria and Phrygia in Byzantine times ran along the ridge that stretches south from M. Salbakos, and then turned east to cross the Kazanes near its junction with the Indos, including the whole of the upper Indos valley in Caria. We should rather have expected that the whole of this valley would have been kept in the same province; and that the great barrier of the line of Kadmos and Salbakos would have been made the Phrygian boundary. But it would appear that the commercial and administrative connexion between Laodiceia and Themisonion caused the latter to be permanently attached to Phrygia, while the country further south was more closely connected with Cibyra. Eriza, then, which was in Caria, must lie south of Themisonion; and this adds one more proof that the latter must be put at a site on the upper Kazanes, in other words at Kara-Eyük-Bazar.

The Erizenoi are mentioned by Ptolemy<sup>1</sup> as a Carian tribe on the Phrygian frontier. This is rather indefinite, but, as he gives Apollonia and Herakleia Salbake in Caria, and Themisonion and Cibyra in Phrygia, there is no country left except the region between these two lines, which would include Sebastopolis (Ch. V App. 11 § 11) and the hills near Adjı-Payam. This is quite inconsistent with the evidence derived from the march of Manlius (§ 2), unless we suppose that Ptolemy reckoned to it part of the valley between Themisonion and Cibyra (as we do).

The general impression derived from the aspect of the country is that the old Pisidian tribe Erizenoi occupied a great deal of the less productive part of the lower Indos valley between Cibyra and Themisonion. There were in it several centres of ancient life belonging to the tribe, which retained much of the old Anatolian village-system, and had not a strictly organized *polis*. Their chief centre, however, was the town Eriza near Dere-Keui (which was captured by Manlius); and about three miles S.W. from it, in the open plain, they probably held a fair or market, which is maintained to the present day as Ishkian-Bazar. Such markets often preserve an ancient custom, as we have already seen (Ch. V § 5). This Bazar is not a village. The market meets in the plain, where a few booths and sheds stand; and it is quite probable that the Erizenoi met in the same way at their fair in a convenient place in the level country by the road. A few rare coins reading ΕΡΙΖΗΝΩΝ exist. The name persisted in the Byzantine lists to a late period, though in a corrupted form; Hierocles has Erezos, most of the *Notitiae* have Siza, but De Boor's has Eriza,

<sup>1</sup> V 2, 20, reading 'Εριζηνοί for 'Ερίζηλοι: the correction has been often made.



which proves that Siza is merely a fault. It is omitted in the *Nova Tactica* and in *Notitiae* X, XIII.

§ 4. PHYLAKAION is mentioned by the *Anonymus Ravennas* (in the corrupt form *Filaction*), from which we may infer that it was situated on a Roman road. Ptolemy V 2, 26 places Phylakeion or Pylakaion a little to the southwest of Themisonion. Neither of these witnesses can be followed implicitly; but, so far as they can be trusted, we may conclude from their combined evidence that this town was situated on the Roman road Laodiceia-Themisonion-Perga, a road which is vouched for by the Peutinger Table, by milestones, and by history. The omission of Phylakaion on the road in the Table is easily accounted for. The name *Laudicium Pylicum* at the beginning of the road seems to spring from a mixture of the two names *Laodicea ἐπὶ Λύκῳ* and *Pylacium*. The road appears in a very defective form in the Table; Cibyra, Isinda, Termessos are omitted, while Cormasa (Cormassa) has been transferred hither from the adjoining road Apameia-Perga, which has dropped out entirely. We conclude then that in the original of the Table the road was given *Laodicea-Themisonion-Pylacium-Cibyra-Isinda-Termessos-Perga*<sup>1</sup>.

Another passage in Ptolemy (V 2, 27), which in its present form makes the extraordinary blunder of putting the tribe *Lykaones* on the frontier of Lycia, can be by a very slight change emended so as to give clear evidence as to the position of Phylakaion<sup>2</sup>. In this passage Ptolemy is using a Latin source, as is obvious from the term *Φυλακήνσιοι*, which is a false form got by grecizing the Latin *Phylacenses*. His source is a map, which gave him the general positions of these peoples; and that map is doubtless Agrippa's, the ultimate source also of the Peutinger Table and the Ravenna Geographer. In his enumeration Ptolemy starts from the south (i.e. the Lycian frontier), goes northward, and then turns eastward along the northern (i.e. Bithynian) frontier. The *Phylacenses* then were south of Themisonion on the Lycian frontier, and therefore the road on which it lay was that from Themisonion to Cibyra and Perga.

We turn now to the Byzantine lists. Phylakaion does not occur in any of them. But Hierocles mentions at the end of his Carian list *Χωρία Πατριμόνια Κιβύρα Κοκτημάλικαι*. The *Khoria Patrimonia*

<sup>1</sup> The distances are (with my approximate estimates in Arabic numerals) *Laodiceia* xxxiii *Themisonion* 30 *Cibyra* 50 *Isinda* 41 *Perga*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *παρὰ μὲν τὴν Λυκίαν Φυλακήνσιοι καὶ Θεμισώνιοι, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Βιθυνίαν Μακ.*

*Καδοηνοὶ καὶ Κιδυησσέις, ὑφ' οὗς Πελτηνοί, εἶτα Μοξεανοί, εἶτα Λυκάονες, ὑφ' οὗς Ἰεραπολίται.* The similar beginning in *Λυκίαν* and *Λυκάονες* attracted them to each other, and thus caused the transposition of *Λυκάονες* and *Φυλακήνσιοι*.



are evidently the *imperial estates* (*fundi patrimoniales*); and we must understand that near Cibyra there existed a great imperial property. Now Phylakaion, though situated on a great road in a rich country, has left no coins. Surely the reason must be that it was the imperial estate<sup>1</sup>. Further we observed that Hierocles's list is here dislocated in such a way that Hylarima, Iasos, Markianopolis, and Anastasio-polis<sup>2</sup>, have got out of place. When this error is corrected, Eriza comes next to the Estate. Now in the *Notitia de Boor* we find the entry *ὁ Ἐρίζων καὶ Τυραίων*: Eriza therefore was part of a double bishopric, the second name being corrupted. The conjecture is natural that Eriza and the Estate were subject to the same bishop, and that the proper title is *ὁ Ἐρίζων καὶ Φυλακαίων* (corrupted *Φυραίων*, *Τυραίων*).

We can hardly avoid connecting the name with the Greek *φυλακή*; the only question is whether the connexion is real, or merely due to popular etymology operating on a native name. In this case I believe that the name is Greek and connected with the maintenance of order. It took its name from a body of police called *φυλακῖται*, who are mentioned in an important inscription, dating probably from the middle of the second century B.C., *οἱ ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἐριζαν ὑπαρχία φυλακῖται καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Μοξουπόλει καὶ Κριθίνῃ*<sup>3</sup>. Fully to understand this inscription, we must conceive clearly the relations of Eriza, Phylakaion, and Themisonion.

As the emperors owned as a rule what was valuable, it is probable that the Estate was the fertile district about Dodurga and Avshahr. What was its constitution and what its population? We may look

<sup>1</sup> The last name in Hierocles is obviously corrupt, and the word *κτῆμα* stands out clear in it. We naturally conjecture that the correct form is *καὶ κτῆμα Λι*, where the last word has been lost. The *καί* at the end is a marginal correction of *κο* (for *κέ*) at the beginning. If this is correct, Hierocles must have been using a list of bishoprics where *Κιβύρα κὲ Κτῆμα Λ.* occurred, just as we find signatures like *Ζηνόδοτος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Τελμησ(σ)αίων μητροπόλεως καὶ Μακρᾶς τῆς νήσου* (A.D. 451). Cibyra and an imperial estate must therefore have been conjoined in one bishopric, according to our hypothesis. Now we actually find an imperial estate beside Lagbe, where fines were made payable to

Cibyra, inscr. 191. The coincidence suggests that *κτῆμα Λαγβαίων* is here meant. (Formerly I conjectured, perhaps more correctly, that *κτῆμα [φυ]λικαί[ον]* should be read here, and taken as a dittography of *χωρία πατριμόνια*, the second name having got out of place instead of following immediately after *πατριμόνια*). On such estates see Ch. IX § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Hylarima (Ch. V App. II § 4) and Iasos were near or on the west coast of Caria. The other two are unknown, but cannot have been between Eriza and Cibyra. They seem to be temporary names of Carian cities omitted by Hierocles (one perhaps of Kidramos).

<sup>3</sup> M. Bérard BCH 1891 p. 556 f.



upon it as natural that the Seleucid element was concentrated in Themisonion; and that any other Greek colonists introduced into the valley were Pergamenian, and intended to form a counterpoise to the Seleucid city. With this idea to guide us, let us scrutinize the early monuments of the district.

§ 5. HISTORY OF THE KAZANES VALLEY. Themisonion, as we have seen, was founded 250–46 B.C. Before that event the Erizenoi constituted, no doubt, practically the entire population of the Kazanes and lower Indos valley<sup>1</sup>. When the country passed from Persian into Greek hands, a certain portion of the territory became (in a manner about which no direct evidence, but merely indirect analogy, remains) the property of the victors. To the period immediately preceding 250 belongs the important letter of Antiochus II, instituting and regulating the worship of his sister and queen Laodike in the satrapy<sup>2</sup>. The term satrapy indicates an early period, before Greek institutions were fully adopted in the government of Asia Minor. The satrapy was the Kazanes valley; and Eriza was the centre of administration. The institution of the worship of Laodike<sup>2</sup> in this satrapy was probably the sequel to the foundation of Laodiceia. The Seleucid administration in the Kazanes valley was roused by that event to found a cultus of Laodike<sup>3</sup>. Shortly afterwards a Seleucid colony was founded on a suitable situation in the open plain, and named Themisonion.

As to the Seleucid colonists, we might expect that, if Syrians were sent to Laodiceia by Antiochus II, he was likely to send Asiatics also to Themisonion. The foundation of the two cities by the same king<sup>4</sup> on the same important road, was probably carried out on one plan, and by means of settlers of similar origin. It is true that Isinda, which was an important point on the same road, and may possibly have been colonized on the same general scheme, boasts on its coins of

<sup>1</sup> Lydoi on upper Indos Str. p. 631.

<sup>2</sup> It was found at Dodurga, called Durdurkar by MM. Paris and Holleaux, who publish it BCH 1885 p. 324 f. Laodike was repudiated in 248, so that the latest possible date for the foundation of the cultus is 249.

<sup>3</sup> We may safely assume that Laodiceia was older than Themisonion; (1) it was planted at a much more important point, and was a military centre of the first consequence, whereas Themisonion was planted regardless of

military strength on a road supposed to be already defended: (2) the city named after Themison would not be founded before that named after Laodike, who brought to Antiochus the divine right of inheritance through the female line (according to Polyænus).

<sup>4</sup> If Radet's view that Laodiceia was founded by Antiochus I were correct, this sentence would have to be cut out, and some change made in these paragraphs; but I think that the ordinary view is better Ch. II §§ 1 and 11.



an Ionian origin, suggesting that Ionian colonists were settled in it. But, when we consider how unlikely Ionians were to prove trusty Seleucid adherents, we must hold that either the Ionian colonists of Isinda were a later (possibly Pergamenian) introduction, or that the analogy in the name led to the fiction of an Ionian origin. No further evidence about the Seleucid colonists is known.

Later than this inscription is the one mentioning the *Phylakitai*. In it the Greek *ὑπαρχία* has been substituted for the Persian term 'satrapy.' In the interval the Greek city of Themisonion had been founded, and it is remarkable that the province or district should still look to Eriza instead of Themisonion as its centre. The explanation is given by a consideration of the text<sup>1</sup>. The *gens d'armes*, *Phylakitai*, who kept guard and maintained order in the governmental district which had Eriza as its centre, united with the colonists settled in Moxoupolis and Krithina to do honour to an official of the district, Menodoros of Adramyttion.

The fact that the official belongs to Adramyttion makes it clear that the inscription belongs to the period when Pergamenian kings ruled in the valley, and the financial administration of the district was entrusted to an officer trained in their service and born to it. The existence of *Phylakitai* points to the same opinion; for these *gens d'armes* were a Pergamenian institution<sup>2</sup>. The substitution of a Greek term for the Seleucid and Persian 'satrapy' also suggests a change of government. We then understand why the Seleucid colony Themisonion was not the centre of the district: in the early part of their rule, at least, the Pergamenian rulers could not trust or favour it. The colonists (*κάτοικοι*) of Moxoupolis and Krithina must then be a Pergamenian institution, intended to counterbalance the Seleucid partisans of Themisonion<sup>3</sup>. These various groups of persons, Pergamenian *gens d'armes* and colonists, united to honour a Pergamenian official managing the state revenues derived from land (see § 6). Questions arose respecting the relations between the state-property

<sup>1</sup> It is quoted in part in § 4.

<sup>2</sup> Fränkel has treated of the *Phylakitai*, *Inscr. Pergam.* no. 249.

<sup>3</sup> M. Bérard BCH 1891 p. 557 f has correctly seen the difficulties and put the right questions, but has answered them unsatisfactorily, supposing a Ptolemaic domination in the district about 240. He has been misled by an unfortunate slip: he says that this inscription shows the same lettering as Antio-

chus's letter published BCH 1885 p. 324, but it really resembles the one published BCH 1889 p. 339 (a later inscription which will be discussed in the conclusion of this §), and shows a different and decidedly later lettering than the inscr. BCH 1885 p. 324. (I tacitly correct a slip on M. Bérard's part, viz. 1889 p. 324, which has evidently been the cause of his whole mistake).



and the land allotted to the new settlers (*κάτοικοι*); the *gens d'armes* were concerned in the events; and probably the Seleucid colony of Themisonion was affected. Menodoros settled matters to the satisfaction of the *katoikoi* and the *phylakitai*, who testified their appreciation of his conduct in this inscription; but we have no information whether the Seleucid partisans were equally well pleased.

According to the preceding exposition we should have to date the inscription later than 190 B.C., when this valley was surrendered by Antiochus and assigned by the Romans to Eumenes. It is, however, certain that the valley did not actually pass into the hands of Eumenes immediately on the conclusion of peace. The territory north of Taurus was given to him; but it remained for him to establish his authority there. In 189 Manlius treated Eriza and Pisidia generally as all equally hostile country, which could hardly have been the case if Eriza had been occupied by Pergamene troops. On the other hand no long time is likely to have elapsed before an active sovereign like Eumenes put his rights into action; and it is highly probable that the expedition of Manlius into Pisidia was justified by the necessity of establishing the arrangements of the treaty, and that, as a result of its capture by Manlius, Eriza was occupied by Eumenes<sup>1</sup>. This inscription may probably be assigned to one of the years immediately following 189.

The history of this valley is typical of every district in Phrygia. One by one, the finest parts of the country were taken from the old native tribes by the Greek kings. In every Phrygian valley Seleucid colonies were planted, and then Pergamenian foundations were made to counteract their influence, sometimes in new cities, sometimes in the existing cities. Rarely, if ever, was any attempt made to destroy the older population; part of the territory was appropriated for the new foundation, and the poorer parts left to the original natives. We should be glad to learn something of the process whereby the territory was appropriated by the Greek kings for their new foundations. In the case of Peltai and Apameia they recolonized an existing city, settling new colonists in it, and giving them part of the civic territory and a share (probably a predominating share) in the civic life. But Themisonion was a new foundation, and so apparently was Phylakion. The latter may perhaps be taken as a type of some at least of the new foundations. The estate had doubtless descended to the Roman government from the Pergamenian kings, who in their turn

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<sup>1</sup> Cibyra was not given to Eumenes; and Manlius did not attack it, but only extorted a bribe from the king.



inherited it from the Seleucid kings; and the latter had been the heirs to some older lords<sup>1</sup>. Such private possessions, managed by personal dependants of the kings, and peopled by settlers devoted to their service, would be the surest strongholds of their power. In the present case Moxoupolis and Krithina are Pergamenian settlements (*κατοικίαι*) on this great royal estate<sup>2</sup>.

The names, Moxoupolis and Krithina, have not the character of the later Greek town-names, and the *katoikoi* cannot have been Greeks. The former is of the Thraco-Macedonian type, cp. Xylopolis in Macedonia and the Thracian personal names like Abrupolis, Paskoupolis (besides a host ending in *-poris*, which is another form of *-polis*). Probably Thracian or Mysian mercenaries, settled on the estates, gave names of their own country to their villages (compare the Thracian Aetos and Tralla Ch. V).

§ 6. THE STATE OF THEMISONION. In the early Roman period we find a third inscription, for which again we are indebted to the exploring energy of the French School of Athens (BCH 1889 p. 339). While it shows much the same type as the last mentioned inscription, it has some later features, and belongs to a time when Pergamenian rule had been long established, and the names Attalos and Antiochos were used side by side: the date is apparently 114 B.C.<sup>3</sup> This inscription belongs probably to Themisonion, and may be used to illustrate its character at the beginning of the Roman domination. The position of Themisonion was very advantageous under the peaceful rule of Pergamos; and the city must have prospered in the second century in spite of its Seleucid partisanship. To all appearance Pergamenian rule was mild and equable. The old native peoples seem to have been admitted on more favourable terms as part of the population of Pergamenian colonies than was the case with Seleucid colonies, which were more purely composed of foreigners intended to keep down a disaffected country. Hence, for example, we have found that Eriza,

<sup>1</sup> Probably the priests of the *hieron*, Ch. I § 6.

<sup>2</sup> It deserves careful examination whether this is the character of the *katoikoi* in other cases where we can trace them. In modern times the distinction of *tchiftlik* (private or royal estate) and *keui* (village) is very marked. In general the traveller can tell a *tchiftlik* by the more ruinous character of the houses (though exceptions are not rare), whereas the *keui*, whose inhabit-

ants own the land, is less miserable.

<sup>3</sup> The date is given as the 19th year. MM. Cousin and Diehl refer this to the Asian era 133, and I believe they are right. The inscription is obviously early, but not so early that we could date it in the year 19 of the Pergamenian domination (see the *era of Ariassos* in Rev. Ét. Gr. 1893 p. 255). The era 134-3 was commonly used in the period and country of the cistophoric coinage Ch. V App. V.



the native centre, became the Pergamenian governing centre for a time. The Seleucid settlements therefore seem to have soon acquiesced in the new state of things; and we may suppose that Themisonion rapidly became a contented city of the Pergamenian kingdom, and prospered accordingly.

In this inscription the organization seems to be quite of the type which characterized Asian cities generally under the early empire. We find a *paidonomos* (Ch. II § 18), and *agonothetes*, a gymnasium and a gymnasiarch, who are directed to look after the physical education and moral training of boys, youths, and men (*παῖδες, ἑφηβοί, νέοι*). A *grammateus* takes the chief part in directing business and the *strategoi* co-operate with him (Ch. II § 17). Persons are honoured with entertainment in the *Prytaneion*.

Themisonion then shows the constitution of a Seleucid city modified perhaps to some extent by Pergamenian influence. It ought then to be similar to Laodiceia; but we have too little information to assert this absolutely. The co-operation of *strategoi* and *grammateus* is a wide-spread feature. One office, however, which is not known to be widely prevalent, was perhaps found at both. At Laodiceia we had a Superintendent of Public Revenues (*ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων προσόδων* Ch. II § 18). Now the *Phylakitai* and *Katoikoi* united to honour Menodoros of Adramyttion *τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων*. We have already assumed § 5 that he had the direction of revenues; it is indeed clear that he must have been appointed by the Pergamenian government, not by the Seleucid population of Themisonion, and it is possible that he had authority over the whole valley and not merely over the territory of Themisonion. But it is probable that, for the occasion he superseded the financial authority of the municipal officer, and took a title similar to his (with the omission only of the restrictive *δημοσίων*).

§ 7. THAMPSIOUPOLIS. Of the Byzantine history of Themisonion, nothing is known. Though several expeditions must have traversed the valley (e.g. that of Louis in the Second Crusade Ch. I § 10), yet nothing is recorded as to their progress through it. The later *Notitiae* have a bishopric Thampsioupolis, evidently corresponding to the Themisonion of Hierocles. The corruption arose out of the form *ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Θεμισωνίου πόλεως*, which was slurred to *Θεμισιου-* and *Θαμψιου-πόλεως*. The signatures of the earlier councils show intermediate stages of corruption (App. II).

§ 8. AGATHE KOME is mentioned as a bishopric of Phrygia Pacatiana in the earlier *Notitiae*, where it corresponds to Themisonion in Hierocles and Thampsioupolis in the later *Notitiae*. This seems to



have continued through the changes of the earlier Iconoclasts<sup>1</sup>; but before the Council of 869 the old name Thampsioupolis was reintroduced. No bishop of Agathe Kome was present at any Council, so far as I have observed. The name Themisonion, then (in various corruptions), occurs in the Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries, and in Hierocles of the sixth century. Then comes a period covered only by the older *Notitiae*, when Agathe Kome appears, and then from 869 onwards Agathe Kome is no longer known, but the original name returns to the lists. It would appear, then, that there were two separate centres of life in the Kazanes valley in ancient time, corresponding to the modern Kara-Eyuk-Bazar and Adji-Payam. Themisonion was the more important in the Roman period; and probably the reason why its name re-appeared in later time was that it was still the political centre of the district. Why then did the bishop take his title from Agathe Kome in the seventh and eighth centuries? The name suggests that the reason was religious, arising from some peculiar sanctity, or some connexion with a saint of the district. Now there is in the district an interesting site, Alaja-Inn, which has been visited by Prof. G. Hirschfeld and Mr. A. H. Smith. It lies high above Adji-Payam on the mountain-side on the west of the valley. The remains are entirely Byzantine and Christian; and it is probable that a monastery here may have been the seat of a bishop and determined his title. Analogy shows that the full title must have been  $\delta' \text{ Ἀγαθῆς Κώμης ἥτοι Θεμισωνίου πόλεως}$ , one place being the religious, and the other the political centre<sup>2</sup>; and Leo VI recognized the actual situation in his *Nova Tactica*.

Only one other reference to Agathe Kome is known to me. In A.D. 494 an earthquake devastated Laodiceia, Tripolis and Agathicum<sup>3</sup>. In the last name we recognize a latinized form of  $\text{Ἀγαθὴ κώμη}$ . That it should suffer from the same earthquake that was active in the Lykos valley is natural from the relative situation.

§ 9. THE SAVIOUR-GOD. Coins of Themisonion show the radiated head of the god  $\Lambda\Upsilon\text{Κ} \cdot \Sigma\Omega\text{Ζ}\Omega\text{Ν}$ , i.e. the sun-god Lykabas<sup>4</sup>, the

<sup>1</sup> De Boor's *Notitia*, which represents the ecclesiastical system about 750-60, has Agathe Kome, not Thampsioupolis.

<sup>2</sup> As a rule, in the Byzantine period, the site on the mountain became more important, and that in the plain dwindled; but the Kazanes valley lay out of the track of all invaders, Sassanian, Arab, or Turk, and Kara-Eyuk-Bazar continued the centre of life.

Adji-Payam, the present centre, though nearer Agathe Kome, looks like a purely modern village.

<sup>3</sup> Marcellini Comitibus Chronicon, p. 934 ed. Migne.

<sup>4</sup> Tête radiée d'Apollon, Waddington *Mél. Numism.* I 110. Stengel in *Hermes* 1883 p. 304 interprets Lykabas as a moon-god.



Saviour. The curious title Sozon is peculiar to a district extending from Pamphylia through Milyas and Kabalis into eastern Caria, being known in the following places.

(1) Coins of Antiocheia on the Maeander show a male figure standing, with the legend ΣΩΖΩΝ.

(2) On a *stele* found on the east shore of lake Karalitis (near Lagbe) the words ΚΩΖΟΝΤΙ and ΕΥΧΗΝ occur in an inscription not yet satisfactorily deciphered. The stone is called a sepulchral altar (*Grabaltar*) in Benndorf-Niemann *Lykia* II no. 196. Beside it was found a relief of the following class.

(3) In the district Milyas, many examples are found of reliefs, varying slightly in type, all dedicatory or sepulchral, though few are accompanied by inscriptions. The commonest type shows a horseman, wearing a chlamys which flies behind him (implying that he is in rapid motion): he rests his left hand on the horse's neck, as if holding the reins, and in his right he brandishes a club. Another type shows the same horseman holding in his right a double-axe, which rests on his shoulders. The name Sozon sometimes accompanies the reliefs, but once at least Herakles. A very large number of rude reliefs of this type are cut on the rocks at Tefeni, and others similar on Kodja-Tash beside Yuvalik, two miles S.W. from Tefeni<sup>1</sup>.

(4) A relief of the same class was seen in the possession of a Greek at Attaleia in Pamphylia by M. Collignon (BCH 1880, p. 294): it is dedicated Σώζοντι εὐχήν by Q. Valerius Q. F. Small reliefs like this are often carried a great distance by Greeks interested in antiquities; and we cannot be certain that this may not have been brought from Milyas, but it is not intrinsically improbable that the type was used in Pamphylia.

(5) In a city of Kabalis, whose name is unknown, situated at Saraijik on the Lycio-Pamphylian frontier, a *hieron* of Sozon is mentioned in an inscription (Benndorf *Lykia* II no. 185).

According to the inscriptions, the deity to whom these votive reliefs were dedicated was called generally Sozon, and occasionally Heracles (inscr. 102). The armed figure suggested the latter name to those who preferred to use Greek names for the native gods. The title Sozon was of course understood in Greek as the Saviour; but we ask why the unusual form Sozon was preferred to the usual Soter. The reason was probably that the actual native name had a sound approximating

<sup>1</sup> The latter are described by M. Collignon with illustrations BCH 1880 p. 291; A. H. Smith describes both series JHS 1887 p. 235. See pp. 293 f, 306.



to Sozon, and was grecized accordingly<sup>1</sup>. The native name apparently was Saoazos, a title which is used in inscr. 97, found some hours south of Themisonion. From it we learn that Demeter and Saoazos were worshipped together, having a common priest. Now Saoazos is obviously a variant of Sabazios (which is the commoner grecized form of an Asian name); and we shall find Savazios is the great god of the Milyan country where the Sozon reliefs are most common (Ch. IX § 5). In that same district we also find a dedication 'to Apollo and Apollo's Mother.' We may therefore confidently identify this pair of deities in the Kazanes valley as the Mother-Goddess and the Son, whom we have found at Hierapolis, and traced across Pisidia and Milyas to Pamphylia. The pair appears under various names, Leto-Artemis-Cybele-Demeter and Apollo-Lairbenos-Sabazios-Men-Atys.

Now we observed that in Lydia the goddess was kept prominent, and the god very often is expressly put forward as her son (in which relation the name Apollo is especially suitable); but in Phrygia and now again in Pisidia we find that the goddess is not so prominent, and the god often stands alone. He has many forms and takes many names; Poseidon the earth-shaker (the country is subject to earthquakes), Dionysos, Men, Helios, Herakles, Epekoos the hearer of prayer, and many other names were used to express different sides or aspects of the complex and manifold divine nature<sup>2</sup>, see Ch. IX § 5.

Yet another identification of this god is seen at Themisonion. When an attack of the Gauls was dreaded, the people took refuge in a great cave 30 stadia from the city with a hidden entrance, containing springs of water. The magistrates of the city had been warned in a vision by Herakles, Apollo, and Hermes to take refuge in this cave; and in gratitude they dedicated small statues of the three gods in front of the cave<sup>3</sup>. This legend is possibly a mere invention of later time, explaining the presence of the three statues. These seem to represent three different aspects of the native deity. We have seen him grecized as Herakles and Apollo; and as the intermediary and messenger carrying advice from the gods (which was probably a character of the Anatolian god) he is also grecized as Hermes<sup>4</sup>.

Many of the reliefs and inscriptions dedicated to Sozon are probably sepulchral in intention. The god is the god of life and death; and

<sup>1</sup> This suggestion, made some years ago, is quoted with approval by Petersen in Lanckoronski *Städte Pamph.* II p. 8, who remarks on the strange forms of the Pisidian Herakles (e.g. on coins of Baris he is two-headed and four-armed).

<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions quoted in Ch. IX App. I illustrate this subject more completely.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. X 32, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the dream authorizing the foundation of Laodiceia Ch. II § 1.



the erection of a tomb is an act of homage and worship to him. He is also the guardian of the dead and of their tomb: he is the radiated sun-god who looks on the act of violation (no. 187, cp. no. 95). A clear example of the sepulchral character is found in no. 194<sup>1</sup>.

§ 10. CIBYRA AND THE ASIAN CIBYRATIS. Cibyra was included in the province Asia, but was not, strictly speaking, a city of Phrygia. According to Strabo, p. 631, it was founded by the Lydians, who took possession of part of Kabalis. In Cibyra four languages were spoken, (1) Lydian, from this Lydian colony, who used the language after it had entirely disappeared from Lydia proper, (2) Solymian, which was the proper language of the Solymoi the people of Kabalis, (3) Pisidian, the language of the Erizenoi, (4) Greek, the language of the educated classes. Cibyra was the leading city of Kabalis, having two votes in the Kabalian Tetrapolis (Balboursa, Boubon). In B.C. 190 Cibyra was an independent city under the rule of its kings; and the Romans in 130, when they arranged the province Asia, allowed Cibyra and the large country subject to it to remain independent. It was, however, incorporated in the province at a later date, having been reduced, as Strabo says, by L. Licinius Murena. As Murena was left in command as *propraetor* by Sulla when he departed from Asia, it has often been inferred that the incorporation took place in 83<sup>2</sup>. But that cannot be allowed; for Sulla established the division into *conventus*, and Cibyra was made the seat of a *conventus*. Cibyra therefore was incorporated at latest in 84 B.C., and Strabo names Murena not because he was in supreme command when he reduced Cibyra, but because he was actually on the spot (though only as *legatus* of Sulla).

When Murena broke up the Kabalian Tetrapolis, assigning Cibyra to Asia, and Balboursa and Boubon to Lycia, Strabo does not specify the fate of Oinoanda; but inscriptions<sup>3</sup> show that it (with the neighbouring city of Termessos Minor) was attached to Lycia, and perhaps the name has merely dropped accidentally out of Strabo's text.

The connexion between Laodiceia, Themisonion, and Cibyra must have been close, and this is especially marked in the names of the great Cibyrate families in which we find Polemon, Zenon, Hieron, Antonius, Tryphon (like the Zenonids of Laodiceia with Tryphaina

<sup>1</sup> On this subject compare Ch. III § 8.

<sup>2</sup> It cannot be put later, as Murena was occupied with the Mithradatic war in 82.

<sup>3</sup> BCH 1886 p. 216 f. Hence we cannot change the impossible MS. reading in Pliny V 147 *Oeandenses* to Oenoan-

denses, making it a city of Galatic Pisidia. *Orondenses* is the proper correction, for Ptolemy puts the Orondenses (with cities Mithion and Pappa) in Galatia (V 4, 12) and an inscription speaks of *Τιβεριοπολειτῶν Παππηνηῶν Ὀρονδέων* (Sterrett E. J. 97). See p. 314 f.



Ch. II § 5). This is probably due to intercourse within the *conventus*, perhaps to intermarriage. We observed a corresponding similarity of names at Attoudda, Aphrodisias, Herakleia, &c., pp. 166, 191, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Cibyra was distinguished for its iron-working; and was in the early Roman period a city of the first importance. But it lay off the great lines of Roman trade, and did not maintain its position. At the division by Diocletian, it was attached to Caria. Its history should naturally be studied along with that of the rest of Kabalis; and does not properly belong to this work, which is devoted to Phrygia. But it is necessary to complete the survey of the Laodicean or Cibyratic *conventus* by enumerating the places which were incorporated in Asia along with Cibyra.

§ 11. THE ASIAN CIBYRATIS AND KABALIS. Kabalis or Kabalia is twice defined by Ptolemy, once as a district of Lycia (towns Balboursa, Boubon, Oinoanda), and once badly as a district of Pamphylia containing nine cities, seven of which belong to Milyas. Strabo pp. 629-31 clearly defines Kabalis as extending from the borders of Termessos Major to those of Eriza. Pliny V 147 makes an important distinction, specifying Kabalia of Pamphylia (probably the territory between lake Karalitis and Termessos Major), and implying a Kabalia of Asia and of Lycia from which he distinguishes it. Kabalia of Asia is the territory that had been subject to Cibyra. Kabalia of Lycia is rightly defined by Ptolemy. *Addenda*.

ALIMNE is mentioned as a town subject to Cibyra (Livy XXXVIII 15). It has been plausibly identified with the ruins on the lake of Göl-Hissar.

SYLLEUM was another place subject to Cibyra; and probably the whole country between Thabusion and lake Karalitis was included in the Cibyratis. The only passage which throws any light on the topography of the Cibyratis is Livy's account of the route of Cn. Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. (XXXVIII 15). He advanced in an easy march from Eriza to

THABUSION, which was evidently on the Indos near Tcham-Keui. It was apparently the frontier-fortress, and Manlius refrained from ravaging the territory of an independent state till he had tried to effect his object by diplomacy. This proved successful; and after six days he went on his march from Thabusion southwards without going to Cibyra. According to Livy his march now led through the territory of the people of Sinda and across the river Kaulares, which is

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<sup>1</sup> But Kidramos, lying by the Eastern Highway, resembles Laodiceia in names, as we saw, so far as the scanty evidence justifies an opinion.



probably the river that flows from the valley of Bey Keui and Yuvalik to the lake of Göl-Hissar. Sinda was not actually on the line of march which went on to skirt the lake Karalitis (Sugut Göl); and if we could trust Livy, it might perhaps be identified as the fortress of Göl-Hissar. But while this inference would follow from his words, I believe that his account is erroneous, and that, when Polybius stated that Manlius marched in the direction of Sinda (instead of taking the direct path towards Galatia), Livy misunderstood the expression, and said that he marched through the territory of the people of Sinda. His error was perhaps due to a double form occurring in Polybius, Sinda and Isinda<sup>1</sup>. The whole territory from Tcham-Keui to Göl-Hissar was probably under the great city of Cibyra. To admit the existence of a city Sinda (no mere subject-town but owning territory) so close to Cibyra is difficult in view of the other evidence. From Thabusion Manlius marched not through the territory of Sinda, but through that of Cibyra (obviously by agreement with the king).

MANDROPOLIS was on the northern shore of lake Karalitis (Sugut Göl). Manlius halted here on his march from Thabusion. The modern village Manai perhaps preserves a trace of the name; but seems to be further south.

LAGBE. From Mandropolis, Manlius advanced to the neighbouring city Lagoe, which was deserted by its inhabitants. The site is known as Ali Fachreddin Yaila, a few miles to the east of Sugut Göl. He then advanced to the sources of the river Lysis, which are situated less than six miles east of Lagbe<sup>2</sup>. On the following day he advanced to the river Kolobatos<sup>3</sup>, which is apparently the stream that flows to Isinda. Even supposing the Roman leader marched some way down the river, this march is short; but it is clear that he was lingering purposely. He had not any good pretext for interfering in Pamphylian affairs, and he was seeking for one. He had taken this devious route from Thabusion in the hope of finding some excuse to enter Pamphylia; and at last it was furnished him by envoys from Isinda, asking him for help against the Termessians who were besieging the city. Manlius gladly seized the pretext, marched to Isinda, forced the besiegers to retire, and even advanced some distance on the road to Termessos. Then he

<sup>1</sup> Polybius, on this view, said that Manlius from Thabusion directed his march towards Sinda, and afterwards told how Manlius reached Isinda; Livy understood that these were two different cities.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 278.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps *Καλάβατος* is the proper form; compare Kalabantia on the Lycian coast near Sidyma and [Καλ]αβατιανοί in an inscription Benndorf *Lykia* I no. 53, p. 77 and p. 82 note.



concluded peace with Termessos, made arrangements with the Pamphylian cities who had also sent ambassadors; and at last began in earnest his march towards Galatia. Reaching the river Taurus (which flows from Isinda to Kestel-Göl) on the first day, and Xyline Come (probably near Pogla) on the next, he needed two days to reach Kormasa, crossing a high pass.

The situation of Lagbe is proved by two inscriptions. The first was found by Spratt and Forbes (*Lycia* I 250) at Manai, and has since been recopied and published in Benndorf *Lykia* II no. 198. The copies are bad, but the text seems to be δ[η]μος Λαγβέων . . . . . Λαγβηνῆ [εὐχῆ]ν<sup>1</sup>. The second was found about two miles N.E. from Manai, on the rocks underneath the actual site of a strong ancient city<sup>2</sup>, a mile from Ali Fachreddin Yaila.

The only known coin of Lagbe has the legend ΛΑΓΒΗΝΩΝ, but an inscription uses the ethnic Λαγβεύς. The *beta* is the grecized form, apparently, of a Pisidian sound approximating to W, which could not be exactly represented in Greek. In the Byzantine lists ὁ Λαγίνων is evidently the bishop of this town; here the ethnic Λαγοηνός or Λαγωηνός has given rise to a lengthened form, viz., Λάγηννα<sup>3</sup>. Livy uses Lagon, or perhaps Lagoen. The bishopric Λαγίνων was in Pamphylia; but it is clear that the city Lagbe was in Asia<sup>4</sup> in the third century. We must suppose that, when Cibyra was annexed to Caria by Diocletian, this outlying district, which could not conveniently be united with Caria, was like the Cyllanian estates (Ch. IX § 2) incorporated in Pamphylia.

The large imperial estate, whose contractor occupied such an important position at Lagbe (inscr. 191), was doubtless the territory along the shores of lake Karalitis about Manai.

§ 12. THE TURKISH CONQUEST of this district, and of Pisidia in general, is discussed in Chapter IX § 9.

<sup>1</sup> Neither θεᾶ nor μητρί suits the traces of letters in the gap. The name of the goddess was probably used.

<sup>2</sup> Benndorf describes very fully the rock-reliefs, and gives some of the inscriptions; but apparently he (or rather

von Luschan) did not ascend to the site of the city.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Briana in Hierocles for Bria (ὁ Βριανῶν); ὁ Κολώνης, the bishop of Koloe.

<sup>4</sup> See commentary on 192, p. 273.



## APPENDIX I.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KAZANES VALLEY AND THE CIBYRATIS.

91. (R. 1884). Published BCH 1889 p. 342<sup>1</sup>. On the ancient site near Dodurga. ἔτους σκ'. Φίλιππος Μασᾶ τοῦ Ὀπραμούου ἑαυτῷ ζῶν καὶ Ἐνᾷ τῇ γυναικὶ ζ[ώση?].

The name Opramoas is characteristic of Lycia or Kabalis (the difference of vowel shows that it cannot be related to the river-name Obrimas<sup>2</sup> at Apameia, as Kidramoas is to the city-name Kidramos). The feminine name Nas or Enas is found at Cibyra (BCH 1878 p. 604<sup>3</sup>); at Burdur (no. 184, cp. 182, 175); at Tefeni (AHS no. 21); and in Cilicia. Masas is a native name, compare perhaps Masaris a Carian title of Dionysos (Steph. s. v. Μάσταυρα)<sup>4</sup>. The inscription is not later than the second century, and cannot therefore be dated according to the Cibyratic era (giving A.D. 245): the era may be the Lydo-Phrygian 85-4 (giving date A.D. 135-6), or more probably the Asian 134-3 (giving date 86-7 A.D.). MM. Cousin and Diehl l. c. publish another epitaph, Pisides son of Athenagoras and his wife Tata, dated 239, i. e. A.D. 105-6 or possibly 154-5. My impression is that the Asian era 134-3 suits the whole series of inscriptions best (cp. § 5); but certainty is not attainable with the existing evidence. Caesar's era p. 202 is not impossible.

92. (R. 1884). Published by Bérard BCH 1892 p. 417: the first half published by Sterrett E. J. no. 27: both present an unintelligible text, and give an inaccurate account of the state of the stone. A is almost

<sup>1</sup> The copy of MM. Cousin and Diehl is more complete than mine. They prefer a different reading ἐνάτῃ γυναικί, which suggests an alarming picture of married life in that country.

<sup>2</sup> From Obrimas come Obrimotes in Lycia, Obrimianos in Pisidia.

<sup>3</sup> Wrongly transliterated: the copy

is complete.

<sup>4</sup> Μαζεύς a Phrygian title for Zeus (Hesych.) seems Oriental, as Masdes a Phrygian king's name certainly is, Zend Mazda, see *Addenda*. Masas gen. Μασάντος no. 191, Μασᾶδος no. 97. Cousin, Diehl, Sterrett, Benndorf, accent Μάσας. Pape omits.



complete, only one line, and a few other letters are lost. I have not seen B, which was concealed in 1884.

A. [ἔτους . . . ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀττῆδ]ος<sup>1</sup> Ξυλοσῶντος<sup>2</sup>. Διον[ύσι]ος Σαβάλου τέκτων τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδόμησεν. Ἀρτεμεῖς Ἀττάλου Μου[· ·]η· Τατιάς Πονπωνίου· Μήνως Διοσκουρίδου Βαι[βί]ου· Ἀρτεμεῖς Λαδίκης [Ἐλεινοκ]απρία· Νέαρχος Ἀπελά.

B. [ὁ ναὸς τῶν Διοσκούρ]ων ἀνοικοδομήθη ἔτους ξς' μη(νὸς) ιβ' ἐπεὶ ἱερέος Μήνιδος Ἀλεξάνδρου Πονπωνίου· Ἐριαναθίων Ἀγελάου [—]αναξ Διοδώρου· [—]άφορος Μην[οδότου ?] Φίλιππος Ὑρ[κανοῦ ?].

In A the last name is doubtful: I hesitated between Π and Γ, but thought the line complete. The other copies agree in Γ, i. e. Ἀγελά[ου]. On Ἐλεινοκαπρία see p. 36. In B probably we should read Ἐριανθίων. On the metronymic see Ch. III § 6. For Βαι[βί]ου probably Βαιρ[· ·]ου would be more accurate. The date ξς' is probably A.D. 126–7, see 91.

93. (R. 1884). Published CIG 3722 g, AHSmith no. 14, BCH 1889 p. 340. All vary from each other and from the following text; for the letters are rude and often doubtful. Αἰμουνᾶνις Ἀπολλῶδος Πλευιοῦ Μανῆδι καὶ Χορδάδῃ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ Μανῆδος τέκνῳ Ἀπολλῶδει καὶ Πρωτίῳ τῷ συντρόφῳ· καὶ Εἶα ἡ μήτηρ ζῶσα μνείας χάριν<sup>3</sup>.

MM. Cousin and Diehl (BCH l. c.) have been deceived by σύντροφος which they understand as husband; and they have also misapprehended the last words. Apollos and Eia were husband and wife; their children were Manes, Khordades, Aimounanis; and they brought up a foundling (θρέμμα or θρεπτόν) named Protion, as σύντροφος with their own children. Of the family only Eia and Aimounanis survived to erect this tomb, even Eia's grandchild Apollos (son of Manes) had died. The native names make this text worth repeating. The first and third editors take Heia as a Latin name, feminine of Heius. I prefer to understand Eia as native. Ia occurs at Tefeni (AHS no. 22), Ias no. 138, Ies elsewhere, Eia in Thrace *A. E. Mitth.* XIV 154, XVII 91, Ia Arnob. V 7, 16.

94. (R. 1884) near Dodurga. Published from my copy by Sterrett

<sup>1</sup> The opening phrases in A and B are restored conjecturally to show the construction: in A Sterrett's copy ΛΟΓ agrees with mine: in B perhaps [θεῶν μεγάλ]ων.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Συλοσῶντος should be read; but I follow my copy, feeling no doubt as to the engraved text. Syloson was a Samian name, and therefore doubtless native Anatolian; Xyloson is probably

another form. There was a Xylinekome in Pisidia. Compare Pixodaros and Pisedaros.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the names should be Ἀρμουνᾶνις, Πλευροῦ, and Χοιδάδης: I follow my copy. Pleuias would be an example of the Pisidian love for abundance of vowels, see Petersen in Lanckoronski *Städte Pamph.* II p. 10, who quotes with approval my remarks on the point.



E. J. no. 29 εἴ τις τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον ἀδικήσει θεῶν Πισιδῶν κεχολωμένων τύχοιτον.

The middle optative was favoured in the Greek of Phrygia and Pisidia; thus we find περιπέσοιτο, λίποιτο, ἐνκαταλείψαιτο, see Philologus N. F. I p. 755. The *ν* added to τύχοιτο(*ν*) on the analogy of ἐστι(*ν*) is noteworthy. The gods of the tribe preserve the tombs of their people.

95. (R. 1884). Dodurga. Copied also by Sterrett E. J. no. 28, and by Schönborn CIG 4380 s ὅς ἂν τοῦτο τὸ μνημεῖον ἀδικήσει, θεῶν κεχολωμένων τύχοιτον Πισιδικῶν.

Sterrett no. 31 quotes another form of curse from the same place, ἦτω ἔνοκος Ἡλίῳ Σελήνῃ. Are we to infer that Helios and Selene are the Pisidian gods? In that case these Greek identifications could only be explained on the supposition that Saoazos is Helios (cp. no. 187: Sozon often appears on local reliefs with radiated head) and Demeter is Selene (cp. no. 17). In no. 194 a similar curse is found, where all the gods are invoked and expressly Selene and Leto, i. e. the great goddess in her double manifestation as the daughter (Kora) and the mother, typifying the cycle of life (Ch. III §§ 3 to 5). Stengl takes a different view (in *Hermes* 1883 p. 304), which seems to me to have nothing in its favour.

96. (R. 1884). Published CIG 3953 i, and approved by M. Bérard BCH 1892 p. 417; but the text is hardly correct. [Some letters lost] Μ. Οὐλπιον Ζ[ή]νωνος υἱὸν Κυρίνα Τρύφωνα Μέγαν Ἀντωνιανόν, ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ἀσίας, χειλιαρχήσαντα καὶ γενόμενον ἑπαρχον σπείρης πρώτης Οὐλπίας Γαλατῶν, ἐν πᾶσιν πρῶτον τῆς πόλεως τε καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχε[ί]ας, τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς πατρίδος· ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος. τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένης Ἀντωνίας Ἀρίστης Ἀλβίλλης τῆς ἐγγόνης αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων.

In CIG Franz reads μέγαν Ἀντω[νι]νιανόν, and understands that Ulpus Tryphon was *Sodalis Antoninianus*<sup>1</sup>; but there is no room on the stone for the restoration. Megas and Antonianos are part of Tryphon's name. His granddaughter was Antonia Ariste Albilla, which shows that Antonius was part of the family name. It is remarkable that the name Antonius should be so widely spread in this district (Ch. II § 5). Cohors I Ulpia Gallorum is probably Coh. I Gallorum Dacica, stationed in Dacia in A.D. 157 (CIL III Dipl. XL). Tryphon had entered the army (probably as a private soldier) and risen to the rank of *tribunus* and *praefectus cohortis* under Trajan.

Other inscriptions of Themisonion BCH 1891 p. 553: one mentions

<sup>1</sup> This interpretation is objectionable from several sides.



Ti. Claudius Polemon (of equestrian rank), known in inscriptions of Cibyra BCH 1878 p. 595.

97. (R. 1884). In a cemetery beside Aghlan-Keui. Μῆνις Ἀπολων[ί]ου (*sic*) ἑαυτοῦ ζῶν καὶ Νάνῃ τῇ γυναικὶ ζώσῃ· ἱερεὺς Δημητρὸς καὶ Σαοάζου<sup>1</sup>.

Menis was priest of Demeter and Saoazos, a pair of deities (σύνναοι καὶ σύνβωμοι) worshipped in a common temple by a single priest on a common altar. Saoazos is a mere variant of the common Sabazios, approximating more closely to the actual native pronunciation. As Demeter is named first we must understand that the pair are the mother and son<sup>1</sup> of the Lydo-Phrygian cultus. This inscription (which belongs to Cibyrate territory) is valuable as connecting the cultus of the Kazanes and Indos valley with that of the Killanian valley (see Ch. IX § 5 and nos. 100, 101).

190<sup>2</sup>. (R. 1884). Near Aghlan-Keui. Ἑρμαῖς Ἑρμαίου Μασᾶδι τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπόησεν μνήμης ἕνεκεν. Published by Sterrett E. J. 66 from my copy, wrongly assigned. See no. 91 note.

191. (R. 1884). On the rocks under the site of Lagbe: published by Benndorf *Lykia* II no. 195 with some differences. Αὐρ. Μῆνις Μασάντος Κοδίπου Λαγβ[ε]ῦ[s]<sup>3</sup> κατεσκεύασεν τὴν σωματοθήκην ἑαυτῷ κὲ τῇ γυνεὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμεῖ κὲ τέκνῳ μου Αὐρ. Δί[ω]νι· ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔστε ἕτερον πτῶμα ἐπιβάλε, ἐπὶ ἀποτείσι τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ [δην. βφ']. The genitive Μάσα occurs no. 91; here it is Μασάντος, and in 189 Μασᾶδος. The infinitive ἐπιβάλε is due to confusion between first and second aorist forms. The name of Dion shows how Greek penetrated into the nomenclature of the country as time went on. The inscription was probably longer, with fines as 192. On the accent of Masas see no. 91.

192. (R. 1884). On the rock close to nos. 189 and 191. Αὐρ. Κρατερὸς Μήνιδος Κό[μ]ωνος κατεσκ[εύασ]εν τὴν σωματοθήκην ἑαυτῷ ζῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμεῖ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις μου Αὐρ. Τροκόνδῃ καὶ Ἑρμαίῳ καὶ Κρατερῷ, ἐτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξὸν ἔσται ἐπισενένκαι πτῶμα ἐπεὶ ὑποκείσετε προστείμου τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ δην. βφ' καὶ τῇ Κιβυρατῶν πόλει δην. αφ' καὶ τῷ κατὰ τόπον μισθω[τῇ δην. φ']. The fines are payable to the state treasury (implying that Lagbe was a *polis*), the city of Cibyra (implying that Lagbe was

<sup>1</sup> Strabo p. 470 declares that Sabazios was worshipped as the child of the Mother-goddess, ὁ Σαβάζιος δὲ τῶν Φρυγιακῶν ἐστι καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς μητρὸς τὸ παιδίον, παραδοὺς τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ αὐτός.

<sup>2</sup> This and the following four inscrip-

tions were classed wrongly at first, and the numbers are retained in their original form.

<sup>3</sup> This word is uncertain. Benndorf has ΛΑΓΒΥ, I have ΛΑΓΒΟΥ; the letters were very much worn, and I could not feel confident about them.



connected politically with Cibyra), and the local contractor. The connexion with Cibyra (as head of the *conventus*) implies that Lagbe was in Asia, and not in Galatia or Pamphylia : so Aigai paid fines at Pergamos as head of *conventus* BCH 1887 p. 395. The local contractor (cp. ὁ κατὰ τόπον τηρητής = Wadd. 1680, ὁ τοποτηρητής) occupies as prominent and influential a position here as at Tefeni (Ch. IX § 3) and must be of the same character, i. e. he is the *conductor* of an imperial estate<sup>1</sup>. Lagbe a *polis* striking coins (Wadd. 1211) adjoined a large imperial estate, and doubtless its rich citizens acted as contractors. The restoration is from no. 193.

193. (R. 1884). Published differently by A. H. Smith, no. 34, and Benndorf *Lykia* II no. 205. The text is engraved on a sarcophagus cut in the rock.

Ἔτους εἰς'. Αὐρ. Κε[νδέας? father's name and ethnic] (A.D. 241-2)  
κατεσ[κεύασε τὴν σωματοθήκην ἑαυτῷ]  
καὶ τῇ [γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀμμία?, ἄλλω δὲ οὐ]δενὶ ἕξον  
ἔσται ἐπισ[φέρειν πτώμα, ἐπεὶ ἔνοχος ἔ]σται ὁ ἐπι[χει]ρή[σας]<sup>2</sup>  
τῷ ἔργῳ το[ύτῳ] τυμβωρυχία, καὶ δώσει τῷ μ[ε]ν ἱερωτάτῳ  
τ[α]μείῳ δην. βφ' [καὶ τῇ Κιβυρατῶν πόλει δην. α]φ' καὶ τῷ [κ]ατ[ὰ]  
τόπ[ον] μισθωτῇ  
τ[οῦ] χωρίου δην. φ'.  
ἐ]ἰ δέ τι βουλευσ[ω,  
ταῦ]τα ἔτι ζῶν ἐπιγράψω.

In ll. 4, 5, the meaning seems to be 'he who lays hand on the monument<sup>3</sup> shall be liable in a charge of tomb-violation.' There was evidently a regular legal procedure in cases of this kind.

194. A dedication Σώζοντι εὐχὴν<sup>4</sup>, a curse that the violator of the tomb ἔνοχος ἔσται πᾶσι θεοῖς καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Λητῷ (Ch. III § 3, and no. 95), the names Ououas, Pinte, Arapeia, Galatea, at and near Manai, are given in Benndorf *Lykia* II p. 166 (nos. 196, 193, 194, 195, 200, 202).

<sup>1</sup> This opinion, expressed *Hist. Geogr.* p. 176, was wrongly retracted in an ill-considered and hasty *addendum*, *ib.* p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> This word is doubtful. Benndorf's ἐπι[σφέρων] does not suit the remains. I devoted the greatest care to copying this inscription and measuring the gaps.

<sup>3</sup> Or possibly 'sets his hand to the deed.'

<sup>4</sup> By its situation and surroundings this is marked as a sepulchral monument. The erection of the grave is an act of homage to the Saviour-God ; and the same god is appealed to under the name Helios to be the guardian of the tomb (no. 95). See *Addenda* 24 for examples from north Phrygia.



## APPENDIX II.

## LIST OF BISHOPS.

## 1. Themisonion.

Μάγνος Θεμισῶν τῆς Φρυγίας *Conc. Seleuc.* A.D. 359.

Ζώσιμος πόλεως Θεμισσοῦ *Conc. Chalced.* 451.

Ἰωάννης Θαμψιουπόλεως *Conc. Constant.* 869.

Le Quien, who omits Magnus, recognizes Zosimos and Joannes as bishops of Thampsioupolis; while he distinguishes another bishopric Themizonium, with one bishop Matthias in 503. But this Matthias is really the bishop of Temenothyrai of 451, as any one who compares the list of 503 with those of 451 will recognize at once<sup>1</sup>. He occurs with varying forms of the place-name, Themesianensis, Themenothirensis, &c.

## 2. Cibyra.

Leontius Cibyritanus 325.

Leontius Cibyrensis 381.

Apellas Κιβύρας 431.

Erasmus Cibyrae 553.

Gregorius Κιβύρας 787.

Stephanus Cibyrae 870.

This is Le Quien's list unaltered.

## 3. Lagbe, Lagoue, Lagoe, whence the adj. Lagoenos, Lagenos.

Zacharias πόλεως Λαγηνῶν 692.

Constantinus Κώνστας, Λαγνῶν 787.

Elissaeus Λαγηνῶν } 879.

Basilus Λαγηνῶν }

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<sup>1</sup> It is well known that through some error a list of the bishops at Chalcedon 451 has been attached to the Roman Council 503.



## CHAPTER IX

### PHRYGIAN CITIES ON THE PISIDIAN FRONTIER

§ 1. Keretapa-Diocaesareia p. 275. § 2. The Killanian Plain p. 278. § 3. The Milyadic or Killanian Estates p. 280. § 4. Annia Faustina, domina tractus Cyllanici p. 286. § 5. Religion of the Ormelian Country p. 292. § 6. Takina p. 295. § 7. Valentia p. 297. § 8. The Asian Side of Lake Askania p. 298. § 9. The Turkish Conquest p. 299.

Appendices: I. Inscriptions of the Killanian Plain p. 304. II. Pisidian Phrygia. 1. Ptolemy's List p. 316. 2. The Frontier between Galatia and Asia p. 318. 3. Alastos p. 321. 4. Tymbrianassos and Obranassa p. 322. 5. Bindaion-Eudoxiopolis p. 326. 6. Lysinia and Kormasa p. 326. III. Inscriptions of Keretapa and Valentia, and Milestones p. 328. IV. Inscriptions of the Askanian Coasts. 1. Maximianopolis p. 332. 2. Binda p. 334. 3. Regesalamara p. 336. 4. Limnobria p. 337. 5. Kormasa p. 339.

§ 1. KERETAPA-DIOCAESAREIA. Hierocles mentions this city between Colossai and Themisonion, which suggests a situation adjoining both these cities; while Ptolemy's map places it east of Laodiceia and Themisonion and south of Apameia<sup>1</sup>. But Ptolemy is so inexact in his positions that we must not trust much to him, and can only infer that Keretapa was in Southern Phrygia. It seems impossible to find any place for it either on the line Colossai-Sanaos or on the line Laodiceia-Themisonion-Cibyra<sup>2</sup>, so that we are led to seek for it in the country south from Colossai and Apameia and east from Themisonion.

M. Kadmos, which rises sheer from the Lycos valley to its height of 8013 feet above the sea, is backed by a mountainous region, with high-lying pasture-lands, which gradually slope down to a series of lakes on S.E. One of these, called Salda from a village at its S.W. extremity, is of considerable size. The other two (further to E. and N.E.), Tchorak-Göl and Yarashli-Göl, are smaller and salt,

<sup>1</sup> The map is very conveniently reconstructed (though of course in a very tentative fashion) by Kiepert in Franz *Fünf Inschr. u. F. Städte*.

<sup>2</sup> The latter line is excluded by many

arguments so obvious that they need not be recapitulated. The former (to which I originally inclined) seems to afford no situation for a city between Colossai and Sanaos.



lying in the country between the two great salt lakes Anava and Askania. When we explore this large broken and difficult country (which however is rich as a pasture-land, and has also some fine glens and stretches of arable land), we find, besides a very few scattered traces of antiquity elsewhere, two sites and centres of ancient life, one at Kaya-dibi near the S.E. end of Salda-lake<sup>1</sup>, the other at Yarashli. The former is probably to be identified with Keretapa; the latter is certainly Takina.

The arguments for the identification of Keretapa are indirect, and therefore less satisfactory; but no other alternative seems open. At Kaya-dibi there is a large pedestal with the dedication ΔΙΕΙ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ (inscr. 132). Here the reigning emperor is identified with the local deity Zeus Savazios (§ 5). Now the title Diocaesareia had been assumed at least as early as the time of Commodus<sup>2</sup> (of course with imperial or senatorial sanction) by Keretapa; and the title implies that at Keretapa there existed precisely such a cult. The foundation probably took place under Domitian, whose identification with Zeus formed an important point in the state-policy of the time<sup>3</sup>. Some regulation of S.W. Phrygia took place under his reign, and Sala assumed the name Domitianopolis. See p. 178 n.

There is one fact which suggests for Keretapa a situation towards Apameia. These two cities, along with Siblia, form a numismatic group, distinguished by using magistrates' names with the preposition *παρά* (cp. Ch. V § 5). For example

ΠΑΡ · ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ · ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ · ΚΕΡΕΤΑΠΕΩΝ: type Herakles (Commodus).

ΠΑΡΑ · ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΙΑΝΟΥ · ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ

ΠΑ · ΕΡΜΟΥ · ΠΑΝΕΓΥΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ · ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ: type lion (Valerian).

ΠΑΡΑ · ΜΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΥ · Κ · ΜΑΙΑΝΗΣ · ΣΕΙΒΑΙΑΝΩΝ: type Athena (Geta)<sup>4</sup>.

These numismatic facts show that Keretapa was in the *conventus*

<sup>1</sup> The lake is larger, and of a different shape from the form given in Kiepert's map. It extends much further to the north. Kaya-dibi is the Bazar, and Satirlar (two miles distant) the government centre, of the Nahya Irle (so pronounced; Kiepert gives the official name as Iborle on one of his maps, but not the most recent, where he has Irle).

<sup>2</sup> The earliest coin with the name Diocaesareia known to me is of Commodus.

<sup>3</sup> Hadrian was also identified with Zeus Olympios; but the identification, though wide-spread owing to his popularity, does not appear to have been insisted on as politically important. Diocaesareia-Prakana among the Kennatai in Isauria assumed the title under Domitian; and of Diocaesareia-Nazianzos probably the same holds, though evidence fails.

<sup>4</sup> Maiane, wife of Menodotos, p. 226.



of Apameia, and thus in close relations with it. Keretapa therefore was in such a situation that, topographically, it could be arranged in a list between Colossai and Themisonion, while it was actually in the *conventus* of Apameia. Kaya-dibi fulfils this condition exactly.

Coins of Keretapa mention an alliance with Hierapolis, which also is favourable to a situation such as has been assigned.

Other facts point to the close connexion that existed between Colossai or Khonai and Keretapa. An appearance of Michael of Khonai at Keretapa is celebrated on Sept. 6 by the Greek Church<sup>1</sup>. In the late legend of the Miracle at Khonai, Keretapa is actually spoken of as in the territory of Khonai<sup>2</sup>. This extraordinary error becomes more intelligible when we find that the two cities are *conterminous*<sup>3</sup>. A legend arose founded on the misspelling *Χαίρέ-τοπα*, that Michael addressed the place *χαῖρε, τόπε*.

A coincidence connected with the name is of some interest, if it be not unreal. Keretapa seems to belong to a large class of Anatolian names containing the element *ker*, to which perhaps the national name *Kares* belongs. The second part is probably the Carian word *taba*, which according to Stephanus (s. v. *Τάβαι*) means 'rock.' Now Kaya-dibi means 'under the rock'; and the most remarkable feature in the situation is a lofty peak on the north, which rises so abruptly that it seems actually to overhang and threaten the town<sup>4</sup>.

But the strongest argument for the site is that, while every other ancient name in Southern Phrygia can be assigned on good evidence to other sites, the important district of Kaya-dibi alone remains without a name.

Keretapa was an important city, with considerable coinage from Augustus onwards. A fertile country of great extent surrounds

<sup>1</sup> Le Quien (*Oriens Christ.* I 813) uses the expression *Chonae quae juxta Ceretapa* (which he either derives from a source unknown to me or infers from this appearance).

<sup>2</sup> See *Church in R. Empire* ch. XIX.

<sup>3</sup> M. Duchesne *Bull. Crit.* 1890 p. 444 prefers the cheap supposition that there were two places Keretapa, one in the territory of Khonai, and one an independent city.

<sup>4</sup> On the broad top of this hill are extensive ruins, consisting of great lines of wall of loose small stones surrounding a very large space. H. A. Brown

and I visited them late one evening in 1886; but could not understand their plan or character. They are on far too great and massive a scale to be mere shepherds' work. Pre-hellenic rock sculptures have been reported (Davis *Anatolica* p. 135, Perrot *Hist. de l'Art* IV p. 742) at Kara-at-li near Kaya-dibi: I found only three small figures, 9 inches high, rude Roman work. The identification of Caesareia in the legend of St. Artemon with Diocaesareia must be abandoned: Caesareia-Cibyra is more probable, since Keretapa was in the *conventus* of Apameia.



Kaya-dibi; and the road from Themisonion to Takina and Apameia passes through it. Theodoulos, bishop in 359 at Concil. Seleuc., appears to have been a person of some consequence. But it lay off the great lines of communication at all periods of history, and led a secluded existence, not sharing in the development of education and civilization. Its coins mention a *strategos*, but nothing else is known of its constitution.

The lake of Salda which lies close to Kaya-dibi seems to be mentioned on coins as ΑΥΛΙΝΔΗΝΟC. The name is adjectival in form, implying a place Aulinda or a tribe Aulindeis.

§ 2. THE KILLANIAN PLAIN was a valley containing a mixed Phrygian and Pisidian population near the south-western frontier of Phrygia, and deriving its name from a small town (which therefore must have been called Killana). Strabo mentions it along with the Tabene plain<sup>1</sup>; and this has led to its being generally identified with the Kazanes valley. But the identification is inconsistent with a passage of Pliny, who mentions the *tractus Cyllanicus* as a frontier district of the Roman province Galatia<sup>2</sup>. See App. II § 2.

In the hills that bound on the east the valley of the upper Indos, and in the Rahat Dagħ further to the south, there rise various streams which unite to form the river Lysis, now called Gebren-Tchai. They meet at the south-western end of a long valley which runs far to N.E., till it opens on the plain of the lake Askania. The upper end of this valley is broad, open, and fertile. It contains many villages, the chief being Tefeni, Karamanli, and Hassan-Pasha, which are also marked by numerous remains as the centres of ancient life. This upper part of the valley forms a district by itself. Below it the valley narrows and becomes more undulating and less fertile. High on the ridge S.E. of the valley lies the fortress of Olbasa. Below, there is rough country with a long narrow glen through which the river flows between the broken ground that occupies a good deal of the valley on each side. Further down there is a wider stretch of level ground on each side of the river, and this open stretch was once the territory of Lysinia. Below Lysinia the hills close in on

<sup>1</sup> P. 629 τὸ Κιλλάνιον (πεδῖον understood) καὶ τὸ Ταβηνὸν, ἔχοντα πολίχνας μίξοφρυγίους ἐχούσας τι καὶ Πισιδικόν, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὰ κατωνομάσθη.

<sup>2</sup> Attingit Galatia et Pamphyliae Cabaliam et Milyas qui circa Barim (l. Barbin) sunt et Cyllanicum et Orondicum Pisidiae tractum, item Lycaoniae

partem Obizenen. Even though Pliny were to be interpreted as enumerating external border districts, the Kazanes valley could by no possibility be considered as such. There would then remain only a choice between Keretapa and the Lysis valley; and the former would not be called πεδῖον or *tractus*.



each side, forming a narrow gorge through which the river forces its way into the plain of lake Askania (Buldur Göl). See pp. 309, 317 f.

Although the three villages just named are the largest in the extremely fertile upper end of the valley, yet there are in it some other villages of considerable size, especially Gebren, at the source of the northern branch of the river near Keretapa. The name Lysis in ancient time seems to have been given to the southern branch, which rises near Lagoe (see p. 267). The meeting of the two branches forms the main river, Lysis or Gebren-Tchai.

If we identify (as seems necessary) Pliny's *Cyllanicus* with Strabo's *Κιλλάνιον*, the only district that satisfies both passages is this great valley of the Lysis, the Gebren-Ova. Gebren has every appearance of being an ancient name; and Prof. G. Hirschfeld has even assumed that it represents an otherwise unknown ancient town Kebrene<sup>1</sup>. But Strabo knew of a town Killana in the Killanian plain. Now Gebren naturally goes back to an old Pisidian name Kivrana or Kivlana, and Kivlana would fully explain the grecized forms Killana and Cyllanicus. Thus in ancient and in modern times alike the little town Kivlana-Gebren gave its name to the river-valley Gebren-Ova. See also p. 285 n.

The remaining inscribed stones 109-11 at Gebren give no information as to the history of the town. They are similar in style to those of the Ormelian country, and include dedications to Poseidon and Apollo. Chronology was reckoned both by a priesthood and by an era, whose beginning is uncertain, but is probably 85-4 B.C. In every respect they must be classed along with the group of inscriptions which will be treated in §§ 3-5; and this small town may have actually formed part of the great group of Milyadic or Killanian estates, which, as we shall see, occupied the upper end of Gebren-Ova. This upper end forms a district by itself, which we shall hereafter designate as the Tefeni valley after the chief town (the seat of a kaimmakam). Tefeni seems to imply the form Is-tefani (Ἰστέφανου), showing that the town took the name of Stephen, to whom we may understand that its church had been dedicated. Kiepert in the text to his latest map of Asia Provincia identifies Tefeni with Temenos<sup>2</sup>. I do not see much probability in this derivation; but otherwise the suggestion is

<sup>1</sup> Berl. Monatsber. 1879 p. 323, *es ist schwer, in dem modernen Namen eine antike Kebrene zu verkennen; obgleich sie für diese Gegend nicht überliefert ist.*

<sup>2</sup> ἡ ἐν Τημένει πόλις subject to Cibyra, Polyb. XXII 17, 11. Prothetic ι before

two initial consonants is common in Phrygia and Pisidia in proper names: the fullest collection of examples is by Mordtmann in *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 p. 160. The form may also be explained by the preposition εἰς Στεφάνου (πόλιν). See p. 303.



good. Tefeni was probably subject to Cibyra 130-84 B.C., and maintained the connexion on its milestones and in its way of dating (pp. 286, 296, 291, 330).

§ 3. MILYADIC OR KILLANIAN ESTATES. In the valley round Tefeni a series of inscriptions have been found which enable us to reconstruct the history of the district with a completeness which is unusual in this country<sup>1</sup>, and which makes it a model for the investigation of other regions. The exploration of the country was begun by Schönborn, whose copies of a few of the inscriptions did not reveal their importance (see CIG 4366 w). MM. Duchesne and Collignon have given a better and fuller collection (BCH 1878 and 1879). A still fuller collection is published by Prof. J. R. S. Sterrett in his *Epigraphic Journey* nos. 38-72 from copies by himself, Mr. A. H. Smith, and me<sup>2</sup>.

The superscriptions of inscr. 124-9 are the foundation of the theory set forth in the following pages<sup>3</sup>. It was stated in *Hist. Geogr.* p. 172 f, where the grounds for it are given; and, as these have been, I think, generally admitted to be correct<sup>4</sup>, they need not be repeated. I shall therefore for the most part merely state results without reasons, adding in various points to the theory as stated in *Hist. Geogr.* l. c., and making some improvements.

The population of the district struck no coins. The failure of coinage in such a rich district is due to the fact that the land was imperial property. There seem to have been three estates, one of which (and evidently the chief one) was inhabited by the Ormeleis, a people never elsewhere mentioned<sup>5</sup>. It was probably situated about Tefeni, Sazak, and Karamanli. The second had probably its

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that the epigraphic records of obscure districts are often so much more complete; but the reason is that the greater districts lie on the frequented lines of modern communication and have been more open to spoliation for modern buildings.

<sup>2</sup> Some few notes on his copies have been published by MM. Bérard and Fougères in BCH 1892 p. 418; but I can accept hardly any of their variations. M. Cousin has also travelled in the country, and published one inscription BCH 1884 p. 497; but he has not mentioned the important series; and I presume that he found the other publication satisfactory.

<sup>3</sup> I have quoted them in § 4; but as several of the points on which the fol-

lowing theory most relies are given differently or even wholly omitted by Prof. Sterrett, it is necessary to mention that where I differ from him merely as regards transcription, I leave the reader to judge for himself, but in a few points where I differ as regards the epigraphic text of the inscriptions of Karamanli (which I did not see in 1884), I depend on an inspection of the opening lines which I made in 1886. One very important date has been restored by an excavation which I was able to make then.

<sup>4</sup> See *Berl. Sitzungsber.* 1891 p. 868, 874.

<sup>5</sup> Unless [Latri]leon in *Rav. Geogr. Anon.* be an error caused by assimilation of [Orme]leon to the preceding Filaction.



centre at Killana (Gebren); while the third had its centre at Hassan-Pasha, and its name is perhaps contained in the mutilated inscr. 117<sup>1</sup>.

The three estates were as a rule farmed to three separate contractors (*μισθωταί*, *conductores*); and the imperial interests were managed by a procurator, who seems to have been an imperial freedman, and three managers (*πραγματευταί*, *negotiatores*<sup>2</sup>), one for each estate. These managers were imperial slaves. The natives were the cultivators (*coloni*); and rich individuals among them seem also to have been the contractors. The procurator and managers formed a sort of board of supervision; and we may infer that the rents of the *coloni* were paid to them directly<sup>3</sup>.

The inscriptions are dated by the acting procurator, managers, and contractors, and occasionally by the *proagon* and the priest for the time. The details of government, therefore, were administered by these as corresponding to the magistrates of a *polis*. It is clear that in Asia Minor certain bishoprics were simply great imperial estates; and hence it is natural to conclude that certain groups of estates were organized in such a way that the group occupied a position corresponding to that of a *polis*. The three Ormelian estates formed a group. The imperial procurator was the supreme official, representing the imperial authority, having probably even the power of life and death among the *coloni*, and deciding without appeal all cases among them or between them and the contractors. He let out the estates for periods of years, and drew rents and dues from contractors and *coloni*. He was charged with the maintenance of public order; and a corps of police (*παραφυλακίται*<sup>4</sup>) was under his command. He also marked and preserved the bounds of the estate, and guards (called *ὁροφύλακες*, *saltuarii finium custodiendorum causa*) were directed by him for this purpose.

The only procurator known to us with certainty, Kritoboulos (St. 46), was apparently a freedman of the owners<sup>5</sup>. But M. Calpurnius Longus and Pansa (p. 314) may perhaps have been equestrian procurators. On the African estates both equestrian and libertine

<sup>1</sup> Or possibly in inscr. 125 Βαγανδεύς. There is hardly room in 117 to restore B[αγαδ]εύς, a natural variant.

<sup>2</sup> This Latin term (which I formerly used) is approved by O. Hirschfeld in *Berlin. Sitzungsber.* 1891 p. 874 n. 142; *actor*, the rendering suggested by Prof. Pelham, seems to suit the African analogies better; the Greek term admits the first rendering better, but

the second is also perhaps justifiable.

<sup>3</sup> See Mommsen in *Hermes* XV 1880 p. 403 f.

<sup>4</sup> This name, as we have seen above, suggests a Pergamenian origin. The estates probably descended to the emperors from the kings; see § 3 *ad finem* and p. 259.

<sup>5</sup> Another whose name in genitive ends in -os occurs St. 43.



procurators are known ; and the analogy is probably complete (*Hermes* 1880 p. 400 f). In the first century the provincial procurator apparently performed the duties which in the second and third centuries were performed by special procurators of the group of estates<sup>1</sup>.

The procurators had their own freedmen and slaves, whom they employed on their business (whether private or official we have no evidence). Of this character probably were M. Calpurnius Epineikos and Artemon freedman and slave of M. Calpurnius Longus (nos. 112-3). The former was a contractor, which probably means that he was acting as agent for his patron, who according to our conjecture would be both procurator and concealed contractor (which can hardly have been either advantageous or strictly lawful). Artemon was his steward (*οἰκονόμος*, *dispensator*).

The *negotiatores*<sup>2</sup> were evidently slaves (of the owners of the estates): their names are of a servile type<sup>3</sup> and they have no *pater*. They were probably stationed on the several estates to look after the owners' interests on them, and to exact the dues in kind, the share of the produce, the days of labour which were given to the masters, &c.

The contractors were sometimes freedmen, sometimes native Pisidians<sup>4</sup>, richer than the mass of the *coloni*. No evidence is to be obtained from the inscriptions as to their duties, which therefore must be restored from the analogy of the African *conductores*. It is, however, evident that they had considerable powers, both because they appear in superscriptions, and because at the estates near Lagbe fines for violation of a grave were made payable to the state of Cibyra and the local contractor. A fragmentary inscription seems to connect them with the frontier-guards (*ὄροφύλακες*), to whom they were perhaps empowered to issue orders when the procurator was not at hand<sup>5</sup>.

The annual priest of Zeus Sabazios exercised a certain authority also ; but it is noteworthy that he appears only in one superscription where a list of *mystai* follows<sup>6</sup>.

Native officials named *Proagontes* are often mentioned in these

<sup>1</sup> The boundaries of the estate of Maximianopolis were regulated by the procurator of Galatia under Nero, no. 165.

<sup>2</sup> Defined by Labeo, *Digest.* 32, 65, as slaves qui praepositi essent negotii exercendi causa veluti qui ad emendum locandum conducendum praepositi essent.

<sup>3</sup> Abaskantos, Anthinos, Aeithales, Marcellion (?).

<sup>4</sup> Sterrett restores [Κλαυδ]ίου in 46, 10, which suggests that this contractor was a freedman of the owners ; but the name is quite uncertain. [Herma]ios is quite possible, or even a shorter name. Epinicus, inscr. 113, was a freedman.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. O. Hirschfeld agrees with this *Berl. Sitz.* 1891 p. 874.

<sup>6</sup> In St. 59 he is dedicator on behalf of the college of priests. On his position see § 5.



inscriptions<sup>1</sup>. In one case there seem to be two who form a sort of board<sup>2</sup>.

The inscriptions also show that these imperial estates passed out of the hands of the reigning emperor into the possession of a branch of the imperial family, probably by a gift of M. Aurelius to his niece. The inscriptions usually begin with a vow for the health of the owners, and a comparison of them leads us in § 4 to a hypothesis which fills up some blank spaces in the imperial family history.

The native population (*ὄχλος*, *populus plebeius*) united in societies which met in the worship of Zeus Sabazios; and individuals appear frequently to have made contributions for the comfort and benefit of the community (*ἐτίμησε τὸν ὄχλον*, *plebem ornavit?*). See § 4 and 5.

The strict and correct term for a group of estates was *tractus*, as Mommsen points out in *Hermes* 1880 p. 400. Now Pliny mentions a *tractus Cyllanicus* on the frontier of the province Galatia, and evidently on the Pisidian side. We then should naturally infer that the *tractus Cyllanicus* is this group of Phrygian or Pisidian estates; and already by a totally different line of argument we have been led to the conclusion that the Cyllanian or Killanian plain was the Gebren-Ova. That conclusion may therefore be now regarded as definitely proved; and we thereby find a proof of the existence of the estates in the middle of the first century after Christ.

We now look for traces of their later history; and, as usual, we turn first to Hierocles. In enumerating the cities of Pamphylia he goes from Termessos northwards along the west side of the province; and after finishing the Taurus valley (Perminounda to Isinda), he gives next Myodia<sup>3</sup>, then the 'Milyadic Estates' (*χωρία Μιλυαδικά*), and then Olbasa, and then he goes down the Lysis valley to Palaiapolis, Lysinia, and Kolbasa. To judge from his order, therefore, the Milyadic estates were higher up the Lysis than Olbasa, and precisely in that situation we have found that the great Killanian imperial estates were situated. The identity of the Milyadic estates with the Killanian or Ormelian estates then seems beyond dispute.

<sup>1</sup> A *proagon* at Seleuceia, Sterrett EJ 89, WE 465.

<sup>2</sup> St. 72 A 6 ἐπὶ προαγόντων Μήνιδος δις Νεικάδου, Ἀττάλου Ὅσαεῖ. They are both well known (cp. 41 A 17, 53 A 31, 44 B 6 as corrected below, 38 C 3).

<sup>3</sup> This unknown name is perhaps either corrupt (the bishop ὁ Λαγηνῶν does not appear anywhere in Hierocles) or a dittography of Μιλυαδικά. Per-

minounda must now be read in place of Perminoda in the inscriptions of the district: it is quite consistent with the epigraphic text of the two local inscriptions that give the name, and occurs in *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 p. 250. Hierocles goes in an orderly way, ascending the Tauros, crossing to the source of the Lysis, and descending the Lysis to lake Askania.



The *Notitiae* lead us on to another identification. They never mention either the estates or Olbasa, though it is certain from the remains and the situation that the latter preserved its strength and the former their richness through the Byzantine period. But they give a bishopric Hadriana, which does not occur in Hierocles. The Council-lists agree with the *Notitiae*, mentioning Hadriana in 458, 692, 787, and 879 A.D., but never Olbasa or the estates. It is of course impossible to identify Hadriana with any bishopric that occurs in the same list with it, and when we go over the lists we find that this consideration cuts out every identification except Olbasa, the estates, and one or two obscure places like Limobrama and Regesalamara (which cannot be reasonably identified with Hadriana, a place often mentioned and therefore important). Hadriana is therefore a name either for Olbasa or for the estates. But, if Olbasa had been called Hadriana, we should have expected to find some trace of the name<sup>1</sup> on its coins, while the name suits the estates perfectly. It was well known that it was Hadrian who regulated the organization and administration of the great imperial estates in Africa, and it would be admitted as in itself probable, even without any confirmatory evidence, that the law appealed to as *lex Hadriana de rudibus agris* in the inscriptions of the African estates was applicable to the empire in general, and especially to these Killanian or Milyadic properties. He was struck during his journeys with the great extent of uncultivated or poorly cultivated land; and he framed his law with the intention of encouraging settlers (*coloni*) to cultivate the lands in a more remunerative way. Hence our inference that the estates were called Hadriana as having been reorganized by him is not likely to be disputed by any one. It is true that no fragments of any laws regulating the administration of these estates have as yet been found; but from the striking analogies between the circumstances disclosed in these inscriptions, and the facts elicited by Mommsen and others with regard to the African estates<sup>2</sup>, we might infer that these Phrygian or Pisidian estates were regulated by the *lex Hadriana*; and we are therefore not surprised when we find that the name *Hadriana* is given to them in all the *Notitiae Episcopatumum* (which seems to prove that this was the Roman official name).

But why then should Olbasa be omitted from the *Notitiae* and the

<sup>1</sup> I formerly tried to evade this difficulty by supposing that Olbasa was called Hadriana after some saint to whom its great church was dedicated, perhaps the one whose *Acta* are given

on Sept. 8th. But the suggestion made in the text is clearly preferable.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen in *Hermes* 1880 p. 385 f, Carton in *Rev. Archéolog.* 1893 I p. 21 f; and Schulten in *Hermes* 1894 p. 204.



Council-lists? Apparently, there is here one of the numerous cases of double bishoprics, which have been such a difficulty in the elucidation of the topography of Asia Minor. The bishop was 'of Hadriana and Olbasa' (ὁ Ἀδριανῶν καὶ Ὀλβάσων); and Hierocles found the double title in his authorities, though the second part was dropped by later copyists in the extant *Notitiae*. Hadriana came first, because, except in time of war<sup>1</sup>, the pleasant estate-towns would be preferred as a residence to Olbasa on its bleak and lofty hill, over 4,500 ft. above the sea, with a northern exposure.

The pre-Roman history of these estates is not certain; but they seem to have belonged to the Pergamenian kings, as they retain a trace of Pergamenian organization, p. 281. Moreover since they were included in Milyas, as appears from their name in Hierocles, and since Milyas was assigned to Eumenes in 190 B.C.<sup>2</sup>, and the Lysis valley is the nearest to Pergamos of all the Milyad country, the natural inference is that the estates and the entire Gebren-Ova were subject to Pergamos. But, if that be so, it would appear that the Romans did not attempt to incorporate the valley in the empire. There is not the slightest appearance of probability that Lysinia or Palaiapolis or Olbasa were ever included in Asia; but on the contrary all evidence points to the conclusion that they first came under Rome when the province Galatia was formed in 25 B.C. It is possible however that, when correctly read, the authority of Polybius and of Livy agrees

<sup>1</sup> The Lysis valley lies out of the line of Saracen or Turkish raids, safe among the hills; therefore it played no part in the frontier-wars, and had a comparatively peaceful history.

<sup>2</sup> Polybius XXII 27, 10 Φρυγίαν . . . . ., Μυσοῖς . . . . ., Λυκαονίαν, Μιλυάδα, Λυδίαν. Perhaps Λυκαονίαν here cannot be taken as the country; it must be an epithet of Μιλυάδα. Now Livy XXXVII 56 does not mention Milyas among the districts assigned to Eumenes; we find, however, the curious phrase *regias siluas*, in which is concealed the name of some country. Did Livy misread a MS., taking ΜΙΛΥΑΣ as ΥΛΑΣ? or should we not rather correct his text to [M]iluas? Then what about *regias*? Perhaps we must suppose that the reference is precisely to these 'royal estates of Milyas.' It is, as we have seen, quite probable

that they descended to the Romans from the kings who preceded them, being taken from the *hieron* and its priests by the Seleucid kings. In that case, the correction of Λυκαονίαν in Polybius perhaps should be Κυλανίαν or Κυλλανίαν. Then Livy and Polybius would be agreed that only this part of Milyas was assigned to Eumenes. The suggestion of M. Th. Reinach that the era of Ariassos (which was reckoned from B.C. 190) commemorates its liberation from Seleucid power, but not its incorporation in the Pergamenian kingdom (as I had supposed), would then be confirmed by the corrected text of Polybius, showing that Ariassos was not subject to Pergamos. See my paper *Micrasiana* in Rev. Ét. Gr. 1892. On this difficult subject see *Addend.* 36.



in assigning to Eumenes only these estates, and no other part of the Lysis valley<sup>1</sup>. In 133 B.C. the estates, being Pergamenian, passed to the Romans, but evidently were not incorporated in Asia; for the line of the frontier road (see § 6) excludes them. Aquillius probably left them to Cibyra: and Murena in 84 added them to Asia. The eras used in their inscriptions were 84 and the Cibyric (see p. 279).

The estates seem far removed from Phrygia; but Strabo's statement that the Killanian district was semi-Phrygian (§ 2) is confirmed by the nomenclature, which is on the whole Phrygian in type. Some of the personal names, such as Termilas, belonging to the Lycian, Solymanian, or Pamphylian class; but far more are of the pure Phrygian type (App. I).

§ 4. ANNIA FAUSTINA, OWNER OF THE CYLLANIAN ESTATES. An interesting glance into Roman provincial administration is opened to us by the series of difficult and obscure inscriptions, on which our knowledge of this district is founded. It is convenient to repeat here the more important parts of these inscriptions in the form in which I think they ought to be read<sup>2</sup>; but fresh copies of the whole, made after a careful preliminary study of the circumstances of the country might throw light on several obscure points.

The theory which will be stated in the following paragraphs is to a considerable extent conjectural. It depends greatly on the comparative age of the various inscriptions. Their dates can be fixed with much accuracy, partly from dates given in the superscriptions, partly from facts elsewhere recorded about certain great Romans who are alluded to, and partly from the relationships of the Ormelian families, members of which appear in the lists<sup>3</sup>.

These inscriptions in their fullest form begin with a date (reckoned sometimes by the Cibyric era, sometimes by the Sullan era). They then give the names of certain noble Romans, all closely related to the imperial family and apparently owners of the estates; and the inscriptions often take the form of vows for the safety of these Roman personages and of the *demos* of the Ormeleis. Thereafter follows a statement of dates by the names of certain officials (see § 3); and after this preamble come long lists of names. In one case Sterrett

<sup>1</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>2</sup> See the remarks on p. 280, and also the notes on the inscriptions in App. I.

<sup>3</sup> On account of the importance of this point, I give a few of these genealogies in App. I, no. 129; but there are

many others which I might have selected. The persons are mentioned not only in nos. 124-9, but also in the long lists Sterrett 38 and 47 and 72, which I have not quoted.



nos. 44 and 46, we have a mere list of Mystai of the god Sauazos; St. 41-4 and 53-5 are lists of persons whose character is not stated; several are lists of benefactors, who gave to the populace (ὄχλος, plebs) money or some other gift such as oil or a public breakfast, no. 52.

No. 124. Published by Sterrett 52: [— ὑπὲρ?] κληρονόμων Φαυστείνης Οὐ-[[Φαυστείνης Οὐ-]]μμη[δ]ίας Κορνοφικίας · Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμιῆς Χάρητος Μόγγου ἐτείμησεν τὸν δῆμον ἄριστον καὶ ἀττικὰς τοῦ · [Μ]ῆνις κὲ Ἀρτεμιῆς οἱ υἱοὶ Ἀρτιμοῦ Χάρ[η]δος Μούνγου ἐστεπάνωσαν τὸν δῆμον (δην.) σ', ὧν ὁ τόκος [ὑπο]κωρήσι κατ' ἔτος ὁ γεινόμενος τοῦ ἀργύρου. The dittography escaped Sterrett<sup>1</sup>. See p. 309.

Faustina Ummidia Cornificia, who is mentioned here, can be identified with certainty. She was the daughter of Annia Cornificia Faustina, the sister of the emperor M. Aurelius, by her husband M. Ummidius Quadratus. The inscription concerns not herself directly, but her heirs. Who the heirs were is unfortunately uncertain, owing to the loss of the opening lines of the inscription. Let us try to get some clue to help us. Why should a remote Pisidian people be concerned with the heirs of the niece of the emperor M. Aurelius? Clearly, we must connect this with the fact that this Pisidian people lived on a great imperial estate; and we must infer that the estate had belonged to the emperor's niece, that this niece had died shortly before the inscription was engraved, and that the heirs to her property were thus brought into the closest relations with the inhabitants of the estate.

Annia Cornificia Faustina was dead before M. Aurelius became emperor, as Borghesi (quoted in De Vit's *Onomasticon*) has inferred from a passage in the *Scriptt. Historiae Augustae*<sup>2</sup>. She was younger than her brother Marcus, who was born 121 A.D. If we place her birth in 123 and her death in 158, her daughter Faustina Ummidia Cornificia would have been in A.D. 200 at least 42 and quite probably as much as 58 years of age, and it accords well with the rest of our knowledge to place the death of the latter about 198 A.D.<sup>3</sup> and this inscription shortly after her death.

<sup>1</sup> I have greatly altered the text of this inscription; Sterrett's transcription is quite unintelligible. There are two lines lost at the beginning, in which Sterrett restores [δῆμ]ος Ὁ[ρ]μηλ[έων] κληρονόμων. The errors and the variations of spelling are interesting, the latter seem to prove that the two benefactions were recorded at different

times by different engravers. I have not seen the original.

<sup>2</sup> Vit. Aurel. Antonin. 7 bonorum maternorum partem M. Ummidio Quadrato sororis filio quia illa iam mortua erat tradidit (the time is about the death of Pius).

<sup>3</sup> M. Ummidius Quadratus, her father, was consul in 167.



No record exists in literature that Annia Cornificia Faustina had a daughter; but the name and the period put the relationship of Faustina Ummidia Cornificia beyond a doubt<sup>1</sup>.

The only fact recorded of the emperor's sister Annia Cornificia, is that she left property, part of which was given by the emperor her brother to her son M. Ummidius<sup>2</sup>. It is implied apparently that the emperor might have kept the property to himself, which perhaps indicates that it was imperial property which returned to the sovereign at her death. From this inscription we may infer that another part of her property was given to her daughter, including the Pisidian estate. That her property was very large might be assumed, both from her rank, and from the fact that history has preserved the fact that it was divided at her death. Before we proceed to examine the difficult inscriptions which date soon after this one, we shall find it best to look at the latest of the whole series.

No. 125. (R. 1884: published by Sterrett no. 59). Ἀγ[αθὴ Τύχη · ἔτους] Δ— τῶν κρατίστων τέκνων τοῦ λανπρο(τά)του ὑπατικοῦ Φλαβίου Ἀντιοχιανοῦ κα[ὶ τ]εῖς ἀειμνήστου μητρὸς αὐτῶν Πο[μ]πωνίας Οὐμιδίας ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ σωτηρίας δήμου Ὀρμηλέων . . . . . Αὐρ. Μῆνις β' Κασίου Βορίσκου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων ἀνέστησε τὸν βωμὸν τοῖς συνιερείσιν τοῦ Διὸς · ἐγένετα<sup>3</sup> δαπάνης δην. . . Γάιος Νίγρου Βαγανδεὺς · Αὐρ. Ἀπολλῶνις Στράτωνος Ὀλβασεὺς βουλευτῆς · Αὐρ. Κωβέλλις δις Ἰστράτωνο[s] · Αὐρ. Νεικάδας δις Μήνιδος · Αὐρ. Ἀλέξανδρος δις Ἀνδρέ[α]. See p. 310.

The date is perhaps ΔΖΤ, A.D. 279–80 (according to the Sullan era)<sup>4</sup>. The college of six priests of Zeus (i. e. Zeus Sabazios, no. 290) is an interesting feature: one was a senator of Olbasa, and another belonged to Baganda, a place which is otherwise unknown.

Flavius Antiochianus is a historical character. He was *consul* II in 270 A.D., and *praefectus urbis* in 271–2 and 274. From this inscription we learn that he was married to Pomponia Ummidia. By a comparison

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Mommsen confirms this opinion unhesitatingly. While regarding some of the later steps in my reasoning as uncertain, he has nothing better to substitute.

<sup>2</sup> *Scriptt. Hist. Aug.* just quoted.

<sup>3</sup> An error for ἐγένετο, as Sterrett rightly takes it. M. Bérard in BCH 1892 p. 418 invents a Zeus Egenetas, but the great god of this district was Zeus Sabazios § 5. He restores Διὸς Ἐγα[νέτ]ου in an inscription, where I have proposed

Διὸς [Μ]εγ[ίστ]ου, which still seems to me to suit the traces on the stone. Zeus Megistos is often found in Pisidian inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> There is room for a third letter in the date, but the traces are broken away. ΔΖΣ, i. e. A. D. 289–90 (Cibyratic era), is less probable; and ΔΣ is impossible, as it could only be interpreted on the Pamphylian era A. D. 74, giving A. D. 278, but this district was not in Pamphylia (no. 120).



of the two inscriptions we may further conclude that the children of Pomponia and Antiochianus became on her death the heirs to her property, and hence they appear so prominently at the head of this inscription. Pomponia Ummidia must therefore have been mistress in her own right of the Pisidian estates, having succeeded to them in virtue of her descent from Faustina Ummidia Cornificia, who owned them in the last decades of the second century. Her name proves that she was the fruit of an alliance between a member of the *gens Pomponia* and a descendant of Faustina Ummidia. Again she must have succeeded in virtue of her mother's right, not of her father's; for if her father had been a descendant of the noble house of Ummidia Cornificia, and had married a Pomponia, the child would not have taken the name Pomponia as her gentile name. Pomponia Ummidia therefore was daughter of a Pomponius, married to a wife who was heir (and doubtless descendant) of Faustina Ummidia Cornificia. Now a noble lady well known in history named Annia Faustina<sup>1</sup> was married to Pomponius Bassus some time before 221, when she was married for the second time to the Emperor Elagabalus; and the following inscription shows that in A.D. 217-8 a person named Annia Aurelia Faustina was the owner of these Pisidian estates, and our conjecture is that she was the historical wife of Elagabalus<sup>2</sup>, and mother of Pomponia Ummidia by a husband named Pomponius.

126. (R. 1886: published by Sterrett no. 43). 'Αγ[αθὴ Τύχη · ἔτους] τβ' [... ὑπὲρ] σωτηρίας 'Ανίας Αὐρηλίας Πανστρίνης τῆς κ[ρα]τίστης ἐπὶ ἐπιτρόπου [...]ος κὲ πραγματευτοῦ κὲ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τοῦ δήμου 'Ορμηλέων Αὐρ. Κρατερὸς Κλαυδίου πρ(ο)άγων ἔστησεν τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων, then follows list of names (none of which have *praenomen* Aur.). The engraver has misspelt the name An(n)ia and omitted that of the *negotiator*. It is therefore highly probable that he has erred in writing *P* for *E* in the name Πανστρίνης (where Π for Φ is due to a local pronunciation<sup>3</sup>). The date here, evidently, is reckoned according to the Sullan era, and is equivalent to 217-8 A.D. No other period and era suit the conditions, and we must therefore conclude that this era was in use on the estates. See p. 310.

We were led to the hypothesis that Annia Faustina the empress had been owner of these estates; and we now find that An(n)ia

<sup>1</sup> Her full name may have been longer: she is alluded to in history but never named: coins struck in 221 A.D. are the only authorities for her name.

<sup>2</sup> MM. Duchesne and Collignon made this identification; but their restoration

Σεβαστῆς in one case is incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> λυγοστρόπος St. 47 C 10, Τρόπιμος 43, 15, ἐστεπάνωσαν 52, 12, 'Ρουπῖνος 43, 19, ἀδελπός no 133, Pylakaion or Phylakaion in Ch. VIII. Also ὑποκωρήσει p. 287, Καρ[ίτ]ων p. 312, Νεάρκου St. 43, 26.



Aurelia Pausteina was owner in 217–8. She bears the title *κρατίστη*, which marks her high rank, and would suit the historical Faustina until she became empress in 221. Little is known of the early history of the empress except that she was great-granddaughter of Marcus Aurelius, through his daughter Fadilla<sup>1</sup> who married Cn. Claudius Severus *cos.* I 163, *cos.* II 173. Let us now try whether any further inferences can be drawn from our hypothesis (which is much strengthened by the remarkable coincidence revealed by this inscription) that the historical Annia Faustina, wife of Pomponius Bassus shortly before 221, is identical with the A(n)nia Aurelia Pausteina, owner of the Pisidian estates in 217–8, whose right passed to Pomponia Ummidia, apparently her daughter by a husband named Pomponius. There seems to be only one difficulty,—why should the daughter of Pomponius and Annia Aurelia Pausteina take the name Ummidia? We must suppose that Pausteina, being descended from the Faustina Ummidia Cornificia who had previously owned the estates, gave to her daughter a name that was in the family, even though she is not recorded to have actually borne it herself.

There can be no doubt that the historical Annia Faustina must have been a young woman in 221, both because Elagabalus is likely to have married a young woman, and because her grandmother Fadilla was only born in 152. We shall now turn to two other inscriptions which belong to the interval between this last (dated 217–8 A.D.) and the first, which mentioned the heirs of Faustina Ummidia Cornificia as owners; and from them we shall find that Pausteina was not owner in 207 A.D., and must therefore have only recently succeeded to the estates in 217 A.D., and therefore was probably a young (or at least not an elderly) woman in that year, which increases the resemblance between her and the historical Annia Faustina.

127. (R. 1886). Karamanli. Two parts of one stone, published by Sterrett nos. 44 and 46 as two separate inscriptions. I have completed the text by digging round one of the stones. *Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη · ἔτους ρπβ' · οἱ μύσται τοῦ Διὸς Σαουάζου<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου Ὀρμηλέων καὶ σωτηρίας Ἀννίας Φαυστείνης καὶ Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου ἐπὶ ἐπιτρόπου Κριτοβούλου · ἐπὶ πραγματευτῶν Ἀβασκάντου καὶ Ἀνθίνου καὶ Μαρκελλίωνος · ἐπὶ μισθωτῶν [Κλαυδ?]ίου Ἀβασκάντου καὶ Μήνιδος Νεικάδου Ἡρακλείδου καὶ Νεικάδου δῖς · ἱερατεύοντος Κιδραμάντος δῖς καὶ Ἐλπίδος τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ:* then follows a list of

<sup>1</sup> Borghesi V 433 argues that the wife of Claudius was Fadilla.

<sup>2</sup> This was apparently the reading on the stone, cp. inser. 97.



names (none of which have *praenomen* Aur.)<sup>1</sup>. This inscription is dated in the year 182, which must be interpreted as dated by the Cibyratic era (the use of which in this valley is assured by other cases, cp. inscr. 99 &c., and is confirmed by the measuring of distances on the milestones from Cibyra as *caput viae*). It belongs therefore to A.D. 207-8.

This inscription should be compared with the following, which is almost contemporary with it (though probably a few years earlier).

128. (R. 1884): Sterrett no. 53 from our joint copy. [ἔτους . . . ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Ἀννίας Φαυστείνης καὶ δήμου Ὀρμηλέων ἐπὶ Ἀβασκάντου πραγματευτοῦ: then follows a list of names on three sides of the stone. In the notes on this text in App. I, it is shown, by a list of some of the persons common to it with other inscriptions, that it dates about A.D. 200.

In the first of these two inscriptions (dated A.D. 207) the owners of the Pisidian estates are Annia Faustina and Tiberius Claudius, while in the second, about 200, the owner is Annia Faustina. This seems to imply that the right belonged to Annia Faustina, while Claudius who appears after her in 207, but not in 200, had been married to her in the interval, and appears only as husband of the heiress who was rightful owner. It is obvious that this Annia Faustina cannot be the Annia Aurelia Paustina who as a young woman owned the estates in 217; and we must therefore suppose them to be mother and daughter. We thus find from the inscriptions that Annia Aurelia Faustina, whom we have been led to identify with the wife of Elagabalus, was daughter of Annia Faustina and Ti. Claudius. Now it is known that the father of the empress was Ti. Claudius Severus,—another striking coincidence.

Again from the fact that the father of the historical Annia Faustina bore none of her names we might infer that she got them from her mother; and we now find that, if our hypothesis is correct, her mother was Annia Faustina. We also find a complete explanation of her three names. Her father was grandson of M. Aurelius, and her mother was descended from his sister; and with this doubly noble descent, her father's humbler name Claudius was merged in that of Claudius's mother's family Aurelius.

One more inscription remains, which presents yet another remarkable coincidence.

129. (R. 1886): Sterrett no. 41. Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη · ἔτους . . . . . ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ σωτηρίας Σεβήρου καὶ Φαυστείνης καὶ δήμου

<sup>1</sup> See the notes on the text, App. I.



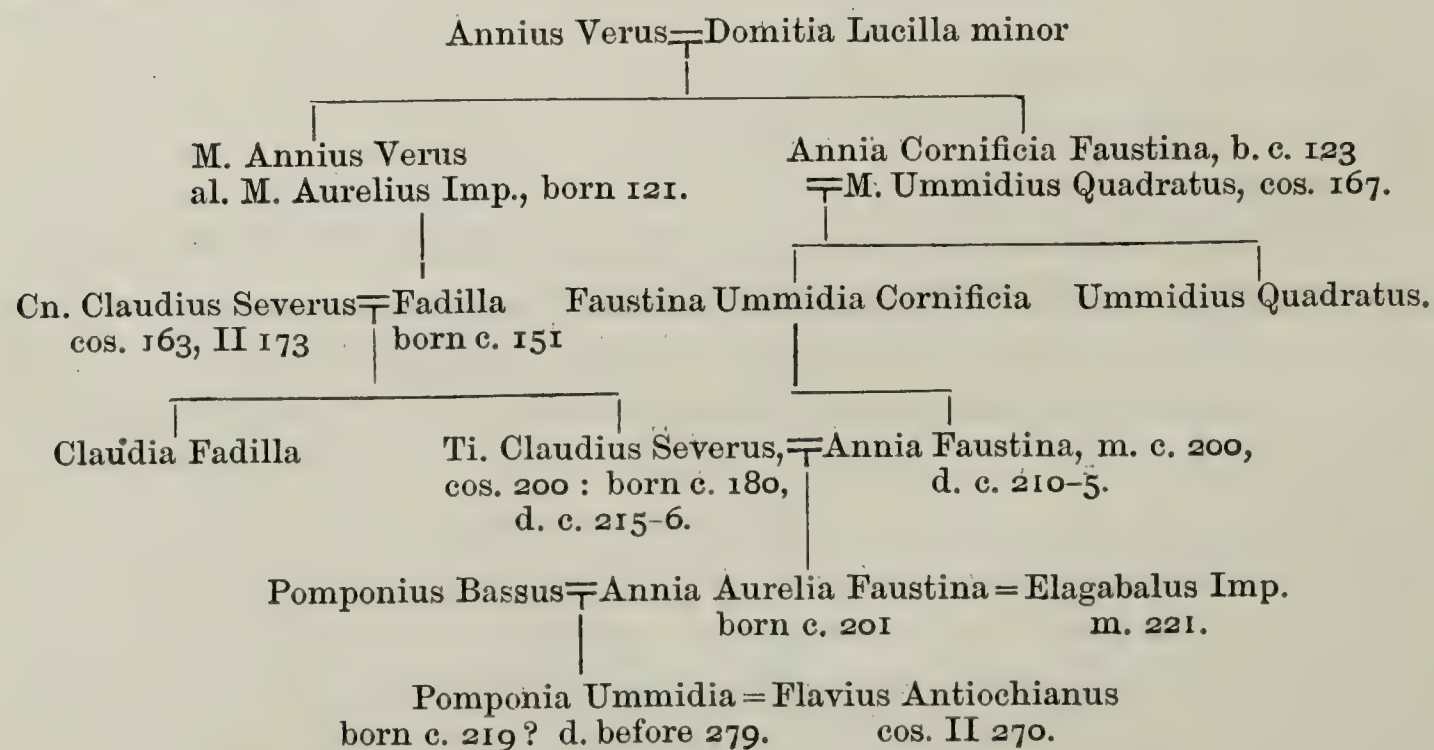
'Ορμηλέων ἐπὶ 'Αειθαλοῦς πραγματευτοῦ·' Απολλῶνις 'Αττάλου Μουν-  
δίωνος προάγων, κ.τ.λ.

The date of this inscription may be fixed about 215 A.D. by a comparison of the persons mentioned in it with those in St. 53 and 46 (see App. I).

Here Severus is mentioned before Faustina; whereas in the previous case Ti. Claudius was mentioned after his wife, the rightful heir. Severus in this case therefore must either be the rightful heir (which is impossible), or, like Flavius Antiochianus, the father of the heiress. Now, since we have found that Annia Faustina, owner in 207, wife of Ti. Claudius Severus, had a daughter Annia Aurelia Faustina (Pausteina), who was owner in 217, and we now see that about 215 Faustina and her father Severus are owners, it seems clear that this Faustina of 215 is the same as the Faustina of 217. Between 215 and 217 her father Severus apparently died. In 217-8 she does not seem to be married; so that her daughter Pomponia Ummidia can hardly have been born before 219.

We return now to the first inscription, no. 124. Who were the heirs of Faustina Ummidia Cornificia? It seems to be clear that, if our previous reasoning is correct, Annia Faustina, wife of Ti. Claudius Severus, must be one of them; and if so we must infer that Annia Faustina was daughter of Cornificia; and the coheirs may be the other children of Cornificia. The inscriptions St. 52 and 53 would then be almost contemporary, about 198 and 200 A.D.; and this date is confirmed by the persons mentioned in them (see App. I).

The following table shows the relationship of the owners of the Milyadic estates:—



§ 5. THE RELIGION OF THE ORMELIAN COUNTRY has already been



touched on in discussing the god Sozon. We have seen Ch. VIII § 9 that this epithet was commonly used in dedications to the great god of the district as saviour and healer, and that it probably originated as a grecized form of the native name Savazos or Sauazos (which more commonly appears as Sabazios). We also see in § 4 and App. I that Savazos or Zeus Savazios was the great god of the Ormeleis, that a college of six priests directed the cultus, that the chief priesthood was an annual office, that the wife of the chief priest was the priestess, that the priesthood was not confined to any family; though in two cases our scanty records show a father and his son both chief priests, and in several cases two brothers appear as chief priests<sup>1</sup>. There were mysteries and initiation; a list of *mystai* in A.D. 207-8 has come down to us (St. 46); and the chief priestess is mentioned in this inscription alone, which suggests that she was more important in the mysteries than in the public cultus (a fact which we have already found to be characteristic of the Phrygian worship). See no. 127.

The supreme priestess of the cultus, according to the usual rule in Asia Minor (as nos. 101, 102, prove), was the wife of the chief priest. The goddess, who is called Demeter (nos. 101, 97), was the mother of her associated god; but Demeter is a grecized title, and the name Leto seems probably to have been also used, as we may infer from a comparison of no. 100 with no. 101.

The close resemblance of the worship and mysteries of Savazos among the Ormeleis with the common Phrygian god Sabazios is attested by an altar at Sazak with reliefs: on one side is a veiled priestess or worshipper, and on the other side a serpent with swollen cheeks (*παρείας ὄφης*)<sup>2</sup>. The place of this serpent in the Phrygian mysteries has been already described (Ch. III § 5). He is the transformation in which the divine father approached the divine mother in the mystic drama; and the act was imitated by devotees and represented in votive reliefs<sup>3</sup>. See p. 94.

The name Sabazios is not Greek, but oriental; and the variant Sebadios is due to the grecizing tendency which sought to find a meaning in the foreign name by assimilating it to *σέβωμαι*. Saoazos, no. 97, as the least grecized form, probably approximates most closely to the native form. The termination *-αζο-* seems to be formative, leaving Savo- or Sao- (*Σαφο*) as the root-word; and Savoi (*Σαβοί*), which is given as one of the cries used in the Phrygian mysteries<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The remains show, as might be expected, that members of certain families often held the priesthood.

<sup>2</sup> BCH 1878 p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> See Foucart *Assoc. Relig.* p. 77 f.

<sup>4</sup> Demosth. *de Cor.* 260 *βοῶν Εὐοὶ Σαβοί*. Compare the cry *Υἱς Ἀττης*, also an invocation.



may be taken as an invocation of the god by his name. Hence, when it is said that the *hieroi* of Bacchus were called Saboi, we shall see in this a case of the widespread fact that the priest or celebrant of the god bore his name, wore his dress, and actually represented his personality.

The name Men was also applied to the god. The extreme frequency of the personal name Menis would alone be sufficient proof; but Men also occurs in a dedication no. 99. The relief representing the god as a horseman brandishing a weapon, though in this district not accompanied by the name Men, often occurs elsewhere with that name, and is as characteristic of Men as it is of Savazos. Men is usually described as the Moon-god, and latinized as Lunus. This arises from an ancient popular pseudo-etymology, connecting the name with the Greek *μήν*. When this misapprehension arose, the wings which were originally represented in archaic schematic fashion curving up from the shoulders of the god, were misunderstood as the horns of the crescent moon; and they are indicated accordingly on various Roman reliefs and coins<sup>1</sup>.

It has already been suggested Ch. V § 5 that this native name, which cannot be a mere Greek word, is a grecized form of Man or Manes, an old Phrygian god<sup>2</sup>. We observe that, whereas the name Menis is so common in this district, derivatives from Men of the type of Menodoros, Menodotos, &c. are hardly found<sup>3</sup>. Menis is the grecized form of a native name derived from the old Man or Manes, and bearing the same relation to it that the personal name Attes (Attis) did to the divine name Attes (Attis, Atys). But Menodoros &c. are derivatives from the grecized Men, and that name, being comparatively modern, had not produced a series of popular and common personal names; hence arises the rarity of that class of names.

In the inscriptions many other divine names are mentioned, most of which are shown by the circumstances to be mere aspects of the one god. The identification of Sabazios, as the great god of the district, with Zeus is natural; and is often found in Asia Minor<sup>4</sup>. The worship of Zeus Sabazios was introduced into Pergamos by Stratonike, queen of Eumenes II. She brought this god with her from her own land of Cappadocia; and the priesthood was hereditary in a particular

<sup>1</sup> I have seen a relief at Eumeneia (where Men Askaënos was worshipped) in which the wings were distinct and closely resembled the wings of many figures at Boghaz-Keui (Pteria).

<sup>2</sup> Akmon and Doias were sons of

Manes, who was worshipped at Akmonia as the chief god.

<sup>3</sup> I notice only Menogenes once.

<sup>4</sup> The title Zeus Megistos is common in Pisidia; in Phrygia it is more common to find Zeus Hypsistos Ch. II § 1.



family<sup>1</sup>. Sabazios was established as *σύνναος* to Athena Nikephoros (doubtless in the temple called Nikephorion, outside the city of Pergamos, and not in the temple of Athena on the acropolis).

As the Sun-god with radiated head, a type that is seen on several reliefs, the god was naturally identified with Helios. As the god of prophecy, and the son of Leto, he appears as Apollo (100, 110). As the messenger he is Hermes (St. 46, 16 and no. 120). As the earth-shaker and as the causer and averter of earthquakes (which are common in the country), he was worshipped as Poseidon (107-9). As the giver of wine he was Dionysos (112, St. 46, 19). As god of death and the dead he was Plouton (109 *bis*, cp. 188, 177).

The priests of Dionysos and Hermes who are mentioned<sup>2</sup> may perhaps have been subordinate priests of the great cultus (members of the college of six), or possibly priests of imported cults instituted in smaller shrines of the district.

In this whole district of the Lysis valley, we find hardly any grave-stones in which provision is made for the punishment of a violator of the tomb. It almost looks as if less regard was attached in this semi-Pisidian country to the sanctity of the grave than in Phrygia proper. The epitaphs rarely contain anything beyond names with some slight particulars of the persons buried. In one case, 187, Helios is invoked, not to protect the grave, but to punish the assassin in case death was by violence.

§ 6. TAKINA. About six miles S.S.W. from the south end of Buldur lake is a small salt-lake with a village Yarashli on its northern shore. It lies in a little basin divided from the valley of the larger lake by low hills, through which an easy opening hardly 100 ft. above the lake-level permits communication. Deuer is the nearest village of the Buldur basin to Yarashli; and inscrs. 138 and 165 prove that in the first century after Christ the former was in Galatia and the latter in Asia, a fact which enables us to fix the boundary then existing between the two provinces at the watershed between the two lakes. Yarashli at the present day is a village of the Nahya Irle; but in ancient time it was the town of a people named Takineis, who seem to have occupied the territory that lies between this small lake and the plain of Sanaos to the north. This obscure place, Takina, is rarely mentioned. The Ravenna Geographer gives it (under the form Tagena), from which we may infer that it was situated on a Roman road. The inference is confirmed by a milestone found in the village, which is one of a series placed by

<sup>1</sup> See *Inscr. Pergam.* no. 248 with Fränkel's commentary.

<sup>2</sup> St. 46, 19 and 16, 44 B 6, where read "Ατταλος 'Οσαεί ἔρε[ῖς] Ἐρ[μ]οῦ.



Manius Aquillius along the system of roads which he constructed through the newly organized province of Asia in 129 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The distance CCXXIII inscribed on it must be reckoned from Ephesos as on the rest of the series; and as this number is far too great for the direct distance, it must be reckoned along a *détour*. Measurements make it clear what the road was: it was the great eastern highway to Apameia, whence it turned to run along the southern frontier and facilitate the defence of the province against the Pisidian mountaineers, who were a standing menace to the Roman country for more than a century later. The situation of Takina puts beyond doubt the line of this road: it passed from Apameia by Kilij, along the west coast of Buldur lake by Elyes or Ilias, through Takina and Keretapa (perhaps on to Themisonion), for no other conceivable purely Asian road (such as entered into Aquillius's plans) could pass through Takina<sup>2</sup>.

This line of defence implies that the country further south, viz. the valley of the Lysis (Gebren-Tchai) and the valley of the Indos, was not included in Asia. Now, it is certain (Ch. VIII § 10) that the Indos valley was independent until 85-4, and we may make the same inference about the Lysis valley in general<sup>3</sup>. Had the Lysis valley been Asian the road would have run along it in a more advantageous line, which was afterwards utilized by Augustus in his system of Pisidian roads and colonies, and by Severus in his road from Cibyra down the Lysis (nos. 141-3 and App. II).

Takina is known to us only through its position on the Aquillian road. It is mentioned in Ptolemy under the corrupt form Gazena<sup>4</sup>. He puts it E.N.E. from Cibyra. It was apparently not a self-administering *polis*, and was probably merely a town or village subject to the great city of Apameia (§ 7)<sup>5</sup>. The analogy of Poimannenon may be quoted on this point. The Poimannenian town<sup>6</sup> was merely a place subject to Cyzicos during part of the Roman period, as Stephanus s. v. mentions; but it became self-governing and began to

<sup>1</sup> See no. 140 and the commentary on it.

<sup>2</sup> The distances from Ephesos were Laodiceia 109, Apameia 179, Kilij 194 or 195, Ilias 205, Takina 223. These are reckoned direct along the road, and not up to each city and on again from it to the next. It is about 18 M. P. from Apameia to Kilij; the route to Takina, however, did not go into Apameia and out of it again, but diverged in the open

valley before the city.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the Cyllanian Estates were put under Cibyra, pp. 279, 286.

<sup>4</sup> ΓΑΙΗΝΑ seems due to corruption of Greek ΤΑΓΗΝΑ.

<sup>5</sup> This might suggest that the road to Apameia was continued round to the extreme southern verge of the Apamean territory by Aquillius.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. Geogr.* p. 158.



strike coins not later than Trajan, and was an important place in the Byzantine period. See also Ch. IV § 2.

§ 7. VALENTIA is mentioned only in Hierocles, at the Council of Ephesos 431 A.D. where its bishop Evagrius was deposed, and at the second Nicene Council 787, where it was represented by the bishop Pantaleon. Hierocles puts it between Themisonion and Sanaos; and his order in this part of his list suggests that Valentia is on the south frontier, and that the list then goes northward to Sanaos and Dionysopolis. We might for a moment hesitate between two sites, viz. Yarashli among the tribe Takineis, and Karamanli (or Tefeni) among the tribe Ormeleis<sup>1</sup>: but as the latter was certainly in Byzantine Pamphylia, we must look for Valentia at Yarashli. Valentia then was the town in the S.E. corner of Pacatiana.

Valentia as being a bishopric in 431 and 787 should have a place in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*; but it nowhere appears in them. This omission must be explained by one or other of two causes<sup>2</sup>, either Valentia bore also another name under which it appears in the *Notitiae*, or it was included in a double bishopric along with another city (Ch. V, App. V). The former explanation cannot be applied here (as any one may convince himself by going over the list); and we must have recourse to the second. Valentia, then, was apparently united in the same bishopric with another town of southern Pacatiana, i.e. either with Themisonion, or Keretapa, or Sanaos. Distance puts Themisonion out of the question; it was united with Agathe-Kome. Keretapa had a different bishop both in 431 and in 787, and is therefore also out of the question. But Sanaos is mentioned by Hierocles next to Valentia; and we have found that they adjoined each other. We may therefore fairly suppose that Hierocles had access to an authority in which *ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Οὐαλεντίας καὶ Σαναοῦ* was mentioned, and he puts them side by side in his list.

A further reason for the union of Valentia and Sanaos lies in their relation to Apameia. The district of Milyas was bounded on the north-west and north by Sagalassos and Apameia (Strab. p. 631). Now the territory along the south-east and south of lake Askania (Buldur lake) belonged to Sagalassos (no. 165), and the only point where Milyas could touch Apameia was between Sagalassos and Keretapa, i.e. the district of Phrygia inhabited by the Takineis. The

<sup>1</sup> Elyes or Ilias would not suit; it would be difficult to allow that it could be included in Pacatiana when Apameia was in Pisidia.

<sup>2</sup> In one or two *Notitiae* accidental omission might be a sufficient explanation; but this cannot be admitted where all *Notitiae* of every class agree.



Takineis therefore must have been subject to Apameia; and we have seen in Ch. VI that this was the case also with Sanaos. In the fourth century, then, the western part of the territory of Apameia, including these two *komai*, Sanaos and Takina, was separated from it and made a *komopolis*<sup>1</sup> and bishopric. Afterwards the name Valentia was given to the southern part, while the northern retained the name Sanaos; and the bishopric was designated sometimes by one name, sometimes by the other. Some changes must have been made by Valens (364–78) in the *komopolis*; but the bishopric seems to have existed as early as 325, when Paulus Sanabensis was present at the Nicene Council<sup>2</sup>.

§ 8. THE ASIAN SIDE OF LAKE ASKANIA. We may further infer from the milestone of Takina that the entire road to which it belonged was included in the province Asia in 133 B.C., for Aquillius must necessarily have built a Roman road on Roman soil. The cities whose remains are found at and near Elyes and Kilij, therefore, must have been in Asia at that time; and lake Askania must have formed the boundary of the province. At a later date Augustus seems to have attached them to Galatia, as they lay on the line of his military road from Colonia Antiocheia to Coloniae Olbasa and Komama; but Vespasian perhaps may have restored them to Asia. Their history will be most conveniently touched on in App. II.

The brackish and bitter lake of Buldur is beyond a doubt the lake Askania, along whose coast Alexander marched between Sagalassos and Kelainai-Apameia<sup>3</sup>. There are two routes from Sagalassos to Apameia; one leads across the top of the lofty ridge between Isbarta and Aghlason (Sagalassos), but is impossible for an army. The other keeps more to the west, descends on the shore of Buldur lake N.W. from Buldur, and passes along the shore to Ketchi-Borlu and thence to Apameia. Alexander took the latter route, as Prof. G. Hirschfeld has rightly seen. In this lake, according to Arrian, salt congeals of itself and is collected and used by the inhabitants. That excellent traveller and observer Hamilton, I 494, remarks about Buldur lake, that it is 'impossible that this can be the lake Askania mentioned by

<sup>1</sup> A *komopolis* was an institution in the Byzantine period, being a territory containing no *polis* but only villages; it was administered not through any *polis* but direct from the central government, having *curiales* of its own just as if it had been a *polis*.

<sup>2</sup> Unless, as is quite possible, we ought

to read Sunabensis: the Nicene lists are very corrupt.

<sup>3</sup> ἦει ἐπὶ Φρυγίας παρὰ τὴν λίμνην ἣ ὄνομα Ἀσκανία, ἐν ἣ ἅλεις πῆγνυνται αὐτόματοι, καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται οἱ ἐπιχώριοι . . . . καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Κελαινὰς περριταῖος. Arrian *Anab* I 29, 1.



Arrian': his argument is that the lake is not 'so strongly impregnated with salt as to enable the inhabitants to collect it from the shores after the waters had dried up.' But I have myself seen the shores, as they dried up, covered with a whitish incrustation, and the inhabitants scraping it together into great heaps and carrying it off: I thought the substance was salt, but when I enquired I was told that it was saltpetre. Either Arrian's account is founded on the report of an eye-witness in Alexander's army, who had made the same mistake as I at first did, and did not enquire so minutely into the facts; or Arrian has erroneously applied to Askania the description of the neighbouring lake Anava, whose salt was used by the inhabitants. Hamilton is probably more accurate when he identifies the lake Askania<sup>1</sup>, which is described by Pliny XXXI 110 as being sweet on the surface but having the water underneath impregnated with saltpetre, as Buldur lake (but it is an exaggeration, in that case, to say that the surface waters of the lake are sweet enough to drink).

The saltpetre-producing lake Askania is mentioned also by Aristotle *Mir. Ausc.* 54, 55, and Antigonus Caryst. 122; but the former implies that it was in Bithynia, confusing it with the lake of Nikaia.

The confusion about the two lakes Askania and Anava among modern geographers has been extraordinary; but a certain amount of confusion also characterizes the ancient accounts. It seems clear that Kharax on lake Anava was identified in tradition as a halting-place of Alexander; and this implies a belief that the salt-producing lake along which he marched was the lake beside Kharax as distinguished from the saltpetre-producing lake of Buldur.

§ 9. THE TURKISH CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN PHRYGIA AND PISIDIA. Evidence as to the Turkish conquest of the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier lands and of Pisidia proper hardly exists. This whole country was ceded to the Turks in 1071-2 (see p. 15 f); and there is no record that a Byzantine army ever again entered it. In 1148 Otto of Freisingen's Crusaders were destroyed, and in Jan. 1149 the army of Louis VII of France (see pp. 19, 162) was attacked and put in great danger of destruction, on the high pass that separates the waters of the Kadmos from those of the Kazanes<sup>2</sup>. The troops who attacked them are represented as being partly Turkish and partly Christian;

<sup>1</sup> Haase and others have identified this lake Askania as the lake of that name beside Nikaia.

leia is said to have been Turkish, and to have been continuously hostile to the Crusaders.

<sup>2</sup> The country henceforward to Atta-



and the Crusaders blamed bitterly the treachery of the Greeks and of Manuel Comnenos, accusing the Emperor of having incited the Turks to resist them, and the Christians to make common cause with the Turks. It is, however, exceedingly doubtful whether Manuel could have done much either to hinder or to produce this resistance of the Pisidian resident population. He seems to have had no authority and no influence over even the Christians of that region; and all that we can learn about the Seljuk sovereignty disposes us to think that the Seljuk sultans of Iconium had not much authority over the Mohammedan nomadic tribes of the district (see pp. 16, 17, 22). It would appear that even the vigorous and energetic John Comnenos had never ventured to march direct from Laodiceia to Attaleia. In 1142 he took the strange detour to Attaleia by Lake Pasgousa (Bey-Sheher). In 1119, indeed, he is said to have captured Hierakoryphites and many other forts near Attaleia; and, as he had advanced from Sozopolis, this would seem to imply a victorious progress through Pisidia (presumably going south from Egerdir Lake). But when we scrutinize carefully the accounts of Nicetas p. 18 and Cinnamus p. 6, and observe that the former calls Sozopolis *τὴν κατὰ Παμφυλίαν*, it is apparent that they had no proper conception of the distance between Sozopolis and Attaleia, and merely intended that Manuel advanced south from Sozopolis for some distance, and captured various places on the western or southern side of Egerdir Lake and in the plain of Baris<sup>1</sup>.

There is therefore every probability that there was no direct and regular land communication at this time between the Byzantine possessions (Laodiceia, Khoma, Sozopolis) on the north of the Pisidian Taurus, and Attaleia with the other coast towns held by the Empire on the south of Taurus. The capture of Phileta or Phaselis on the Lycian coast by the Seljuks in 1158 (see p. 19 n. 2) implies that the Pisidian country was already completely in their hands.

There can be hardly any doubt that this rapid and complete conquest was due to the hatred felt by the Pisidian Christians towards the Byzantine government (see p. 16 f). The stubborn resistance offered by the islanders of Lake Pasgousa to John Comnenos in 1142 may be taken as a fair indication of the general feeling entertained in Pisidia. The joint resistance of Turk and Christian to Louis VII in

<sup>1</sup> If this be so, then the *ἱερὰ κορυφή*, which gave its name to the fort, is probably the remarkable peak beside Egerdir, the Mt. Viaros of the coins of

Prostanna (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 407). At any rate it may be safely considered to be some place in the region of Seleuceia, Baris, or Prostanna.



1148 then assumes a new aspect, being simply the natural opposition offered by the population of the mountains and highlying valleys of Pisidia to an invading army; and there is every reason to think that the Crusading army was a very unpleasant guest. Here therefore as elsewhere the scanty evidence points to peace reigning between Christians and the nomad tribes within the limits of the Seljuk power<sup>1</sup>. No sign can be detected of ill-treatment of the Christians under their power, but some signs of the opposite course are known. A Greek Kalo-Yannis was the architect of one of the beautiful Seljuk buildings at Sivas (Sebasteia), and was allowed to have his name inscribed on it<sup>2</sup>. The many marriages that took place between Christians and the Seljuk imperial family may be taken as a sign of what happened in less exalted circles. The Christians of Tsille beside Iconium, and Permenda beside Ak-Sheher-Philomelion (see pp. 16 n, 23), and in the acropolis of Apollonia-Sozopolis, and in the villages of Cappadocia, and elsewhere, seem to have enjoyed peace and fair treatment. But in most cases the native orientalism of the Anatolian population, which had been overlaid but not eradicated by centuries of European government and religion and social organization, reasserted itself, and carried the people back to the oriental form of religion. Most of the Christians within the Seljuk dominion gradually became Mohammedans, and relapsed into the stagnation and apathy that are natural to the Turks. Those who remained Christian experienced after some centuries a different kind of treatment when Osmanli rule took the place of Seljuk.

It is in keeping with this gradual peaceful amalgamation of the two peoples that so many ancient names remain in modern use in Pisidia. In the valley of the Kazanes and Indos fewer remain, Ayas (perhaps an old Aigai on the crest of a ridge, like Ayas-Aigai in Cilicia, cp. Piyas-Baiaae) alone seems ancient.

In the Gebren-Ova we find more, Gebren, Tefeni, Kemer<sup>3</sup>, Eyinesh, all seem probably ancient. Further east and south the survivals become more certain and numerous, Isbarta (Baris), Aghlason ([S]agallassos), Baradis (Aporidos-kome), Minassun (Minassos), Geunen (Konana),

<sup>1</sup> Beyond those limits, of course, the Christians of the border-lands were exposed to a constant series of terrible raids, which broke their heart, diminished their numbers and ruined their social organization.

<sup>2</sup> I quote from the Arabic inscription, a translation of which was sent to Mr.

Hogarth by one of the American missionaries at Sivas.

<sup>3</sup> Kemer is the old word *kamara*, but it has become naturalized in Turkish, and cannot be taken as the survival of an ancient place-name. It is frequently found in Anatolia as a modern local or village name.



Selef (a mere deserted site, Seleukeia), Aghras (Agrai), Andya (Andeda), Fughla (Pogla-Pougla), Adalia (Attaleia), Milli (Milyas), Istanoz (εἰς τοὺς στενοὺς), Kestel (castellum?).

In later times new immigrations of nomadic tribes into this district from the east took place, especially Avshahr and Yuruk. Whether any Turkmen villages exist in Pisidia, I cannot say, but have not myself actually seen any, whereas they are common in the Phrygian<sup>1</sup>, Lycaonian, Cappadocian, and Galatian plains. These immigrations took place at a time when the older Seljuks had already thrown off the nomadic character and amalgamated completely with the original Byzantine population, forming a new Mohammedan people who retained much of the old Anatolian character and were physically a very powerful and vigorous race, making excellent soldiers. But this new people had lost much of the civilization, the power of skilled work, and the commercial instinct of the Byzantine period; and, as time went on, they lost more and more of these qualities under the barbarizing rule of the Osmanli sultans. At the present day it may be said with approximate truth that all skilled work in Asia Minor is done by Christians. The Turkish village, if it is supplied with water by an artificial water-course and fountain, usually owes it to a Greek workman; and in many cases known to me the Turkish villager even lives in a house which a Greek mason has built for him. But this Turkish population must not be taken as purely of Turkish blood. It is to a very considerable extent the old pre-Turkish population; and it holds aloof from, and looks down with great contempt on, the more recent immigrants, the Turkmen, the Avshahr, the Yuruk, and regards with unbounded hatred the Mohammedan Circassians who entered the country about 30 years ago.

Every nomadic race that has entered Asia Minor has gradually lost, in part or in whole, its nomadic character, and become step by step a settled agricultural population<sup>2</sup>. The same must have been the case with the first nomads who swept over Asia Minor in 1071. They settled in villages and towns by degrees, and there must have been a period when there existed side by side a village of the pre-Turkish population and a village of the immigrant race in most of the valleys of Phrygia and Pisidia. Thus we find in the Killanian valley the two

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<sup>1</sup> For example the Tchul-Ova (Metropolitanus Campus) is often called Turkmen-Ova.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the Yuruk tribes retained the nomadic habit very completely

until the present time; but within the last ten years the government has taken away their tents and forcibly compelled them to take to a settled life.



neighbouring villages Tefeni and Karamanli<sup>1</sup>. Tefeni must certainly have been for a time a Christian village; but, equally certainly, it must have gradually adopted the dominant religion. But the very names point to a time when the population of the first looked to St. Stephen as their patron, and the inhabitants of the other proudly styled themselves 'the followers of Karaman' the Seljuk chief. The change of religion that came to pass in Tefeni is a type of what took place in a great part of the country.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Tripolis and Yeni-Keui in the Lycos valley, Sivasli and Seljüklér on the eastern side of Banaz-Ova; see pp. 30 f and 279 f.



## APPENDIX I.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KILLANIAN PLAIN.

98. (R. 1886; 1884 from impression, A. H. Smith from original). Karamanli. Very different<sup>1</sup> in BCH 1878 p. 172 and 1880 p. 293. Ὁσαεὶς Ἀττάλου ἱαρασάμενος Σώζοντι ἐπηκό[ω] εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν. Numerous analogies show that Osais is designated as the priest of the great cultus of the district, viz. Zeus Sabazios. The date is probably furnished by St. 38 C 4, where Osais the younger is given as priest c. 222 A.D. In a case like this where the priest of Savazos makes a dedication to the god Sozon, we cannot doubt that he makes it to his god viewed in a special aspect which suits the needs of his worshipper; perhaps in sickness he appeals to the Saviour-God. A relief in the middle of the inscription represents the god as a horseman with radiated head. The type is almost equally characteristic of Men and Savazos; and, as already stated, we find every reason to think that in the religion of these districts the two gods were considered as merely varying aspects of the same deity. Men was worshipped in this country, as we learn from the next inscription. On Sozon see Ch. VIII § 9, on Men IX § 5.

99. (R. 1884; St. 60; published with serious differences in BCH 1878 p. 172, and with slight differences by M. Bérard BCH 1892 p. 418). At Tefeni on back and side of a marble chair in the cemetery. (A) ἔτους σλσ'. Αὐρ. Φίλισκος Δημητρίου Μικίου ἱεράσετο. ἔτους ζλσ'. Αὐρ. Παπῆς Μίδα ἱεράσατο ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων θελίως. (B) Ἀπολλώνιος Μήνιδος Μεσάνβριο[s] ἱερατεύων Μηνὶ Τολησέων εὐχὴν<sup>2</sup>. With the dedication to Men of the Toleseis compare Ἀπόλλωνι Περμινουνδέων and many others. M. Bérard, forgetting this formula, prefers to read ἱερατεύων Μηνιτολη-

<sup>1</sup> M. Collignon read Ἀμα[δό]κου for Ἀττάλου (but M. Duchesne came nearer our text): he also prefers ἔτη καθ' to ἐπηκό[ω].

<sup>2</sup> I adopt M. Bérard's Φίλισκος for my reading φιλι·ρος, and Μήνιδος for my Μηνός. The letters are very faint and rude.



σέων and to find here a tribe Menitoleseis. The dates are evidently by the Cibyritic era<sup>1</sup> (A.D. 261 and 262).

Three priests of Zeus Sabazios are here mentioned. The third during his term of office makes a dedication (which is so rudely scratched as to seem a mere *graffito* scrawled on the seat of the chief priest, perhaps by his neighbour the second priest of the college sitting in an adjoining seat during some ceremonial) to Men, god of the Toleseis. The writer Apollonius must have had some reason thus to appeal to Men, and may have belonged to the people Toleseis.

100. Kaldjik: BCH 1878 p. 174<sup>2</sup>. Κρατερὸς Μήνιδος Διδύμου ἱερασά-  
[με]νος Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Μητρὶ Ἀπόλλωνος εὐχήν. The dedication is made in grecizing fashion to Apollo and Apollo's mother; hence we may probably infer that the name Leto was used in the cultus here (Ch. III § 3). Krateros, priest of Savazos, makes a dedication to Apollo and Leto, regarding Apollo as a form of his own god, who expressed the aspect in which he appealed in his need to the god.

101. St. 81 Kaldjik. Μῆνις δις Μενάνδρου καὶ Κακ[ασβ]λῆς Φιλί[σκου] ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἱερεῖς Δημητρὸς [καὶ Σανάζου ἐ]αυτοῖς κατεσκεύασαν, &c. In the undeciphered sequel occurs Μήνιδος Δάου, indicating probably some member of the same family, to which also Σοῦρνος Δάου, Μένανδρος Σοῦρνον, Σοῦρνος Μενάνδρου (St. 53) and others<sup>3</sup> may belong. The priestess seems to be daughter of Philiskos priest in A.D. 261 (inser. 99). The restoration of the two gods is founded on inser. 97<sup>4</sup>. Demeter, being named first in these inscriptions, must be understood as the mother-goddess accompanied by her son. On the husband and wife as priest and priestess in the great cultus of the valley cp. 102, 127.

102. BCH 1878 p. 263. Μ. Καλπούρνιος Ἐπίνικος νέος καὶ Καλπουρνία Μυστικὴ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἱερώμενοι αὐτῆς. The goddess, who is not named, but only referred to, must have been Demeter, indicated by a relief or statue. Epinicus is evidently son of the freedman of Calpurnius Longus no. 114.

103. (R. 1884). *Bomos* at Tefeni: St. 64, different in BCH 1878

<sup>1</sup> The Sullan era would give A.D. 161 and 162, when names with praenomen Aur. were unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Kaldjik is there called Kaya-Djik, and on p. 265 Kaial-Djik.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., the five sons of Daos (son of Menis) BCH 1878 p. 265, Philoneikos, Menandros, Daos, Menis, Ouauas (cp.

no. 137 comm.).

<sup>4</sup> The inscriptions of Kaldjik may belong to Alastos (App. I); but the religion of Alastos was the same as that of the Ormeleis, and probably the same *hieron* served for the city and the demos. Coins of Palaia-Polis-Alastos bear Zeus and Demeter as types.



p. 170 and 1880 p. 293. ἔτους τυζ' <sup>1</sup>. Αὐρ. Διονύσιος δις Μωάλειδος θεῶ Σώζονται εὐχήν. Between the date and the name is a horseman in relief, to right, with radiated head, holding a spear (?). The date seems not to be reckoned by the Cibyritic era (giving A. D. 422-3), but by the Sullan, giving A. D. 312. Many votive reliefs on the rocks at Tefeni and Yuvalik (already described Ch. VIII § 9), may be all taken as dedications to the great god of the district; but the few inscriptions which accompany them give little information to elucidate their meaning. The three following alone could be deciphered.

104. (R. 1884). On the rocks at Tefeni: A. H. Smith no. 16 (with date different). Μενέλαος Μήνιδος ὁροφύλα[ξ] εὐχήν· ἔτους σορ'. The date is either A. D. 201 (reckoned from the Cibyritic era), or A. D. 91-2 (Lydo-Phrygian era): the former is perhaps more probable. Perhaps we should read ὁροφύλα[κι], understanding that a vow was made to the god as guardian of boundaries and patron of the guards.

105. (R. 1884). On the rocks at Tefeni. A. H. Smith no. 17. Ἔτους βορ'. Ἰέρων β' Κοιου (last name uncertain: perhaps Κό[τ]ου). The date is either 197 or 87-8 A. D.

106. (R. 1884). At Kodja-Tash. [Μῆ]νις Ἑρμογένου Ἡρακλῆ εὐχήν<sup>2</sup>.

107. (R. 1884). St. 80. Κωβέλλις δις τοῦ Ἀττῆ Ποσειδῶνι ἐπηκόω εὐχήν. The genitive of Ἀττῆς varies, Ἀττῆδος (St. 53 B 26, C 34) and Ἀττῆ (38 A 5). The same person appears with both spellings (38 A 5, 53 C 25); compare Νεικάδου, Νεικάδα, and Νεικαδᾶδος, Μασᾶ, Μασάντος, and Μασᾶδος, Χάρητος and Χάρηδος, &c. The name Kobellis also occurs in St. 53 and 59: it is perhaps connected with Κυβέλη and Κύβελα<sup>3</sup>. The epithet ἐπήκοος has an oriental character, but was widely used in Asia Minor (see Waddington no. 1173 at Prusias<sup>4</sup>).

108. (R. 1886: BCH 1878 p. 173). Δάμας Μήνιδος Διφίλου θεῶ ἐπηκόω Ποσειδῶνι εὐχήν.

<sup>1</sup> The middle letter of the number is blurred; but is probably *κορρα*. The month was not mentioned on the stone, though restored in BCH.

<sup>2</sup> M. Collignon gives a fragmentary inscription from Kodja-Tash, with a dedication to Herakles BCH 1880 p. 292, apparently a less complete copy of the above.

<sup>3</sup> Κύβελα ὄρη Φρυγίας Hes. (Hebrew Gebel, according to Sonny *Philologus* 1889, who makes Rhea = [Ὀ]ρείη, mountain-goddess). Κύβελον of Phrygia, Steph.

<sup>4</sup> In Samothrace the dedication occurs Ἀρτέμιδι ἐπηκόω δῶρον Kern in *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 p. 377, cp. Robert-Preller *Griech. Mythol.* I 320.



109. (R. 1886). At Gebren: published by G. Hirschfeld p. 323 with slight difference. Π(όπλιος) Λικίννιος Λίγυς Ποσειδῶνι εὐχὴν.

110. I need not repeat various epitaphs, given by A. H. Smith, Sterrett, Collignon, &c. But a dedication [Ἀ]πολ[λ]ώνιος Διὶ Πλουτῶνι ἐ[π]ιφανί τὸ λοιπὸν εὐκὴν (A. H. Smith no. 27) is interesting, though uncertain in text.

111. (R. 1886). At Gebren: badly published by Prof. G. Hirschfeld p. 323. ἱερατεύοντος Σίλβου δις· ἔτους δις ἑκατόστου καὶ τετάρτου· Σίλβος δις καὶ Καδαούας Χάρητος καὶ Μῆνις Ἀπολλωνίου Βασιλείδος Ἀπόλλωνι εὐχὴν. The date is A. D. 119–20 (Lydo-Phrygian era); 219–20 by Ciby-ratic era seems too late for the style of the inscription. The name Silbos recalls the city-name Silbion or Siblia.

112. (R. 1886). Gebren. [ὁ δεῖνα] Ἀττη[δ]ος ἱερασάμενος<sup>1</sup> [τ]οῖς [ιδίοις τέκνοις? καὶ] Ἐνᾷ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμης χά[ρις].

113. Sterrett 79. Ἀρτέμων Μ. Καλπουρνίου Λόνγου δοῦλος οἰκονόμος Διονύσῳ θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ εὐχὴν. Dyonysos in the copy.

114. (R. 1884). Published BCH 1878 p. 173, badly; and better by A. H. Smith no. 4. Ἀ]πὸ κοίτης Μ. Καλπουρνίου Λόγγου πατρῶνος ιδίου (bust of Zeus) Μ. Καλπούρνιος Ἐπίνεικος μισθωτῆς τῶν περὶ Ἀλαστον τόπων Διὶ Μεγίστῳ. Epineikos is freedman of a Roman officer M. Calpurnius Longus. The cognomen is unknown in the *gens Calpurnia*. Calpurnius Longinus, *advocatus fisci* c. 166 A. D., is mentioned *Dig.* 28, 4, 3. M. Calpurnius Longus is mentioned also in no. 113. The opening lines (omitted in BCH) are barely legible; and the first two words are a very unusual variation of ἀπὸ κοιτῶνος, and therefore must be pronounced doubtful.

115. Published CIG 4366 x from Schönborn's copy; and by MM. Duchesne and Collignon BCH 1878 p. 262. The copies differ greatly, and neither gives a possible text, but by comparing them, the following reading may be elicited. οἱ [ἐ]ν Ἀλάσ[τῳ παρ]α[φν]λακίται Σαοῦν Ἰάσον[α]?<sup>2</sup> [Μόρ]μιος ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς αὐτούς.

<sup>1</sup> In this word NO is duplicated by error either of my copy or of the engraver.

<sup>2</sup> A double name is possible, but not probable. The strict order would be

Σαοῦν Μόρμιος Ἰάσονα: the second name (like the Roman *cognomen* in early time) seems not to have been part of the legal designation and comes usually after the father's name.



116. A monument near Hassan-Pasha to some παραφυλακῆται (possibly slain by robbers, like Sousou near Hadrianopolis *Hist. Geogr.* p. 178, see O. Hirschfeld in *Berl. Sitzungsber.* 1891 p. 874) by certain *conductores* bears a mutilated inscription published *Hist. Geogr.* p. 175. Alastos also occurs in no. 189. This monument is dated by Cibyratic era in A. D. 255.

117. (R. 1884). Hassan-Pasha, on the architrave of a heroön. ἔτους σγρ'· Μενέλαος ΑΠΑΡCΑΜΟΥΡ ·· ΕΥC ἀνέτηκεν<sup>1</sup>. The date is probably 221-2 (Cibyratic era).

118. (R. 1884). Hassan-Pasha. Pantheo aedem et aram votum C. Julius C. F. Fab(ia tribu) Rufus<sup>2</sup>. Cp. ἱερεὺς Διονύσου κ(ἐ) Πανθέου at an unknown town of Lycaonia BCH 1887 p. 65. Hoefer in *Neue Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1891 p. 368 points out that Πάνθεον is to be taken as a neuter.

119. (R. 1884). Published differently by A. H. Smith no. 28, and Sterrett 82<sup>3</sup>. Ἐμμενίδης Ἀρχοντος [Α]λευ[ρ]εὺς (?) Ἀρτέμιδι.

120-1. (R. 1886). Ak-Euren. (A). ἔτους βρ', ρν'· [Διὶ ?] καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Μακροπεδειτῶν. Relief defaced. Τρωίλος Ὀφελίωνος Ὀσαεῖ καὶ Τατεῖς Ἀγαθείνου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ Τρωίλος δὲ καὶ Ἀγαθείνος Ὀσαεῖ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων κατασκευάσαντες. Cp. opening of 33.

(B). Relief: horseman with radiated head: under it, the lines

Χρυσοκόμην Παιᾶνα δὲν ἡύκομος τέκε Λητώ

Ἡέλιον φαέθοντα λελουμένον ὠκεάνιοι,

Εἴλεον ἀνθρώποισιν οἱ ἐνθάδε ναιετάουσιν.

Σέλευκος Κιβυρ[άτης] ἐποίει.

(C). [Ἡέλιον] βασιλῆ[α πανόπτην] χρυσεομί[τρην],

Ἑρμῆν τε κλυ[τόβουλο]ν<sup>4</sup> ἀπανγέλλοντα βροτοῖσιν

Ὀσσα Ζεὺς φρονέ[ει τε καὶ ἀθάνα]τοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι.

(D). Concealed in the masonry of the fountain.

The double date seems to be according to the Cibyratic era (introduced by the artist as his customary reckoning) and the extension of the province Pamphylia by Vespasian: if the former began in Sept. A. D. 25, the first year of the latter would begin in Sept. 73, and the first governor

<sup>1</sup> The letter before the gap may be P or B: the one after Μενέλαος may be Δ. Perhaps Μενέλαος δ' Παρσᾶ Μου-β[ωλ]εῖς. Mobolla was the ancient name of Mughla (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 424).

<sup>2</sup> Half of this appears inaccurately in CIG 4367 c after Schönborn's copy.

<sup>3</sup> The letters are so rude as to be hardly legible: my copy has ΜΠΥΚ, while Smith has E where I have Π. The conjecture given is not trustworthy.

<sup>4</sup> Suggested by O. Crusius (cp. Oppian *Hal.* III 26). I formerly restored κλυτό-πλω]ν.



would take office in the spring of 74, the date which is given in Eusebius's *Chronica*. The date of the inscription then is 174-5 A.D. The name Ὀσαεῖ must be here taken as an indeclinable epithet; Troilos Osaei, son of Ophelion, married Tateis, daughter of Agathinos, and their children were Troilos and Agathinos Osaei<sup>1</sup>. The Μακρὸν Πεδίον is the long narrow glen of the Lysis between Olbasa and Lysinia: it must be classed in the same bishopric with Palaiapolis-Alastos (pp. 278, 317).

The relief with the lines beneath it is important. It is evidently implied that the god represented, who appears in the district usually with the title Sozon or Savazos and would be familiar to all under that name, is here declared to be Paian the healing god, Helios, and Hermes.

122. (R. 1884). Olbasa. Δικιννίας Πρισκίλλης ἱερείας Διὸς Καπ[ετο]λίου καὶ Καπετολίας Ἦρας τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἡ βουλὴ παρ' ἐαυτῆς

Τὴν Ζηνὸς ἱέρειαν φίλη πατρὶς ἐνθάδε τειμῆς

Στήσατο Πρισκίλλαν μνημοσύνης ἔνεκεν (or [θ'] ἔνεκεν?)<sup>2</sup>.

The priesthood suits a Roman colony. It is remarkable that no trace of the native religion of the valley appears in the inscriptions of Olbasa, and little on the coins (except the type of Men or Savazios on horseback).

123. (R. 1884). Aurel. Nico du[umvir col(oniae) sta]tuam dei Maronis dulcissimae pa[triae]<sup>3</sup>. This seems to me more likely to refer to a statue of the poet Virgil set up in this *colonia* than to the Thracian god Maron, son of Dionysos (as Mommsen thinks). Why should a statue of Maron be set up in a public place of Olbasa? A ἱερεὺς Μάρωνος at Maroneia BCH 1884 p. 51 does not explain why the statue should be an ornament of Olbasa; but the deification of Virgil in a Roman colony seems not impossible.

124. Published by Sterrett no. 52 with serious differences. Text on p. 287. The date assigned to this inser., about 198, suits the life of the chief benefactor, Arteimes son of Khares, son of Mongos, and his sons, Menis and Arteimes (apparently minors<sup>4</sup>, who get the credit of a benefaction through the indulgence of their father). Arteimes became priest of Zeus Sabazios in 212 A.D., as we see from the list given in St. 38 B

<sup>1</sup> The view that Agathinos, child φύσει of Troilos and Tateis, had been adopted by a person named Osaeis, seems improbable. On such indeclinable epithets, Alexandros Tieiou, &c. cp. JHS 1883 p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> No gap for θ' on stone.

<sup>3</sup> A Greek translation follows: pub-

lished CIL III 6888 and (with some differences) BCH 1877 p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> They are formally called οἱ υἱοὶ Ἀρτείμου, which implies that he was still living. If their father's name had been mentioned merely as part of their legal designation, the phrase would be οἱ Ἀρτείμου.



(see no. 130); and we may presume that he was then forty to fifty years of age. He gave the benefaction, as we suppose, in A.D. 198: some time later he gave a second in the name of his two young sons<sup>1</sup>: and in 212 he rose to be chief of the college of priests.

125. Given in full p. 288. Citizens of Olbasa participated in the worship at the Cyllanian *hieron* by old-standing right.

126. (R. 1886 in part: St. 43). In l. 13 f read Ζώσιμος Ἀπολλωνίου Δάρ[ω]νος προάγων: he is brother of 47 C 8. The date τβ' is certain, and must be on the Sullan era, A.D. 217-8. See p. 289.

127. (R. 1886 in part: St. nos. 44 and 46, which are really two parts of the same stone). I have only revised the superscription of 126, 127; and the lists as a whole depend on Sterrett, Duchesne, and Collignon. See p. 290. The following corrections may also be suggested:

22 f, read Ἰσπάταλος Μήνιδος.

24 f, perhaps read Μῆνις Ποσιδωνίου Ἐνθεος, Ἀκεπτος Μήνιδος, Ὀσαί[s] Γλαυκοῦ.

This list seems to be an enumeration of the religious society of *mystai* of Zeus Savazos during A.D. 207-8. It is not, like several of the others, a list that spreads over a period of years; but it was continued on a second side (Sterrett 44 B), about one generation later. I repeat that side, which is not well given by Sterrett: Αὐρήλλιος Κιδρο[μ]ᾶς τρις ἱερεὺς Διὸς Σαυαζίου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀρτεμεῖς. Αὐρήλλιος Αὐρήλλιος Ἀτταλος Ὀσαεῖ ἱερεὺς Ἑρμῶ. Ὀσαεῖς Ἀττάλου. The first is evidently son of Κιδραμᾶς δῖς mentioned as priest in the superscription of side A (quoted in § 4); and from this we may infer that the expression *ἱερασάμενος* or *ἱερατεύων* when used absolutely in these inscriptions denotes priesthood of Savazios. The second also is son of the Osais priest of Hermes mentioned on side A. These two examples of family priesthood are interesting. It is also noteworthy that Kidramas (Kidramoas), son of Kidramas, priest in 46, 13, occurs in the list of priests St. 38 B 30, which dates that side of the important priest-list. His wife, being mentioned in the superscription, must have been chief priestess; and this custom is vouched for also by nos. 101, 102, and was practically universal in Asia Minor.

The date ρπβ', which I disclosed by excavation, is very clear. There can be no doubt it is by the Cibyatic era, 207-8 B.C.

128. (R. 1884: St. 53 from our joint copy). The date is given by the same *negotiator* as no. 127, so that the two belong to the same period.

<sup>1</sup> As has been stated above, the engraver is different.



Moreover Menis, an ordinary member in this inscription, has risen to be a contractor in no. 127, which is therefore probably later. The same inference is suggested by the following names.

In St. 53 A (no. 128).	was	in St. 46 (=46 A, no. 127).
5 Νεικόλαος Νεάρχου . .	father of	29 Νέαρχος Νεικολάου of Cibyra
” ” . .	” ”	26 Μῆνις <sup>1</sup> Νεικολάου of Cibyra
7 Νεικάδας Ἡρακλείδου .	father of	11 [Μῆνι]ς Νεικάδου Ἡρακλείδου
13 Ἀττάλος Μουνδίωνος .	father of	20 [Μ]ῆνις Ἀττάλου Μουνδίωνος
27 Μῆνις Διομήδου . . .	same as	15 Μῆνις Διομήδου
20 & 32 Νεικάδας δις Ἡρακλείδου	brother of	11 [Μῆνι]ς Νεικάδου Ἡρακλείδου
16 Ὅσαεῖς Ἀττάλου . . .	same as	16 Ὅσαις Ἀττάλου

In comparing these inscriptions we must remember that 53 seems to have spread over a term of years, hence in 53 A 24 and 31 we have two sons of 53 A 10 (who appears at an advanced age and in a higher station in 46, 11, A. D. 207).

Though four persons in 53 are father of persons in 46, yet one person is brother, and three persons at least are common to the two inscriptions. The last-quoted inscription (St. 53) was therefore probably erected about seven years before the other (St. 46); and may therefore be dated about 200. The three contractors and three *negotiatores* evidently correspond to three different estates, while one procurator controlled the whole.

Side A begins about 200 A. D. and ends perhaps about ten years later. Side C seems to end about 255: Menis in l. 41 was chief priest of Zeus Savazios about 280 (no. 125); and Kobellis in l. 42 was father of Kobellis one of the junior priests about 280 (no. 125). Menis was probably entered on this list in 255 aged 25–30 and became chief priest aged 50–55, while Kobellis may have been entered on this list aged 30–35, and his son Kobellis might become lowest priest of the college aged about 35.

The following corrections may be suggested: A 36 read [Γναῖο]ς Χάρηδος Μό[ν]γου, who is father of 41 A 22 (where read Μῆνις Γναίου Χάρητος Μό[ν]γου)<sup>2</sup>, compare inscr. 124 = St. 52 corrected above). B 1 read Μῆνις Μήνιδος Οὐαδ[άρου] father of 53 C 11, and brother of 53 C 13. B 32 read Χάρης Γναίου τέκτων son of A 36 (corrected). C 32 text

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Νέαρχος Μήνιδος in 46, 28 are some objections.  
was son of Μῆνις Νεικολάου in 46, 26, and  
grandson of Νεικόλαος Νεάρχου in 53 A 5;  
but the names are common, and there

<sup>2</sup> The name Mongos also occurs in no. 31.



uncertain. The end of this inscription seems to date about 255, though the beginning dates about 200. MM. Bérard and Fougères BCH 1892 p. 418 suggest several slight changes, of which C 23 add Διονυ at the end, and A 21 Χαρίτων (better Καρίτων, see p. 289 n. 3) for Κάρπων seem right. I should in B 24, 31, C 8, 23, 24, 29 read K(αλπούρνιος) for K(λαύδιος), confirmed in C 24 by MM. Bérard and Fougères. In C 32 perhaps Καλ(πούρνιος) Μένανδρος Σούρνου (cp. C 29, 8). The genitive Χάρηδος should probably be taken as a variation of Χάρητος and accented on the same syllable.

129. (R. 1886 in part: St. 41). I verified only the superscription.

In St. 41 A (no. 129).	was	
8 Ἀπολλῶνις Ἀττάλου Μουνδίωνος	son of	53 A 13
” ” ”	brother of	46, 20
10 Νέαρχος Ἀπολλονίου . . . .	nephew of	53 A 13 (cp. St. 38 B 29)
13 Μῆνις Ἀττάλου Μουνδίωνος . .	son of	53 A 13
” ” ” . .	same as	46, 20
17 Μῆνις δις Νεικάδου . . . .	same as	53 A 31
” ” ” . . . .	brother of	53 A 24
” ” ” . . . .	son of	53 A 10 and 46, 11
18 Μῆνις δις Ὅσαεῖ . . . .	same as	53 A 30
20 Νεικάδας Μήνιδος Νεικάδου . .	same as	53 A 24
” ” ” . .	son of	53 A 10 and 46, 11
34 Στράτων Κωβελλέως Τειμοθέου .	same as	53 C 27
23 Νεικάδας τρίς . . . .	son of	53 A 32 & 46, 12
24 Μῆνις Νεικάδου τρίς . . . .	grandson of	53 A 32

There are three persons in this inscription who are sons of persons in St. 46 (A. D. 207–8); hence it must be later. At the same time the same persons appear in it that appear in St. 46 and in the second half of 53 A<sup>1</sup>. This inscription therefore cannot be very much later than St. 46. There is no opportunity for comparing it with the inscription of A. D. 217–8 (St. 43); but it seems slightly older than 72 A which seems to date 220–30 A. D. We may therefore place it about A. D. 215.

In the text the following corrections may be suggested: A 20 read σκυτέος (a provincialism for σκυτεύς, cp. no. 189). A 23 Χάρητος Μό(νγou) see on 53 A 36 (no. 128). A 26 Δραύκων is second name of Menis son of Menis cp. St. 47 A 31. A 28 read Μῆνι[s]? In A 19 the form

<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the list 53 A dates 207–8; but the second part of 53 A is perhaps ten years later than that.



Νεικαδάδος (also in 38 C 17) is interesting: the genitive of Νεικάδας is generally given Νεικάδου in these inscriptions (should we accent Νεικαδᾶς, Νεικαδοῦ?), and Νεικάδα (Νεικαδᾶ?) occurs in St. 38 A 9.

130. The list of annual priesthoods (of course of Sabazios) in St. no. 38 is important in determining the chronology of the whole series of inscriptions. Side B is the earliest; the remaining part of it seems to belong to the years 199–214 A. D.<sup>1</sup>, and the priests appear to be annual. Side C is about 220–240, and side A about 240–56. The list finishes before A. D. 260, for the priests of 261 and 262 are known from inscr. 99 (which shows that the priesthood was annual). Neikadas, priest in 203 A. D.<sup>2</sup> (B 25), is father of Menis (C 17), who may therefore be dated about 233 A. D. But side A begins with Calp. Daos who was entered on St. 53 C 12 about A. D. 240 (apparently at an advanced age, for his son Calp. Sournos was entered on St. 53 C 18 only a few years later). The next priest was Aur. Herakleides, who was entered on the list St. 43, 26 c. A. D. 240 (as that list begins A. D. 218). The following priest Aur. Neikolaos was entered on the list St. 53 C 25 c. A. D. 245–50.

In 38 A 5, one might read Ἀττη[δος], but Ἀττη is rather to be taken as one of the many cases of double declension, cp. 53 C 5, 25, 34. 14, read Πά(ν)σα (?).

38 B 23 perhaps Κάσιο[s δὲ Πάνσα<sup>3</sup>]. 28, either read Κάρπος here or Κάρνος 72 D 14; probably Κάρνος is the better form. 35, read Ἀρτειμῆς Χάρηδος Μο[ύν]γου<sup>4</sup>, who appears twice in no. 124. 37, perhaps Κάσιος τρὶς Πά[ν]σας: cp. St. 43, 12.

131. Evidently several of these lists extend over a long period (see no. 128). Benefactors were inscribed when their benefaction was made.

In the list of benefactors St. 47, side A seems to date about A. D. 220–40; side B is sixteen or twenty years earlier. It apparently agrees in time with St. 72 (of which side A probably dates 220–30, B about 114, C 207, and D near 200).

In 72 C 24 read [Α]ππολ[λόνιος δὲ Ἱερ]έος καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀπολλώνιος τρὶς (cp. 41 A 11, 38 B 32, 41 A 33, 38 A 16, 18). He was priest 209.

In 72 D 14 perhaps read Κάρνος cp. 38 B 28 (a genitive is needed in 72 D 14).

<sup>1</sup> See on St. 46, 13 (no. 127): Kidra-mas bis priest 46, 13, and 38 B 30. The difference in spelling is common in these Pisidian names. We find both Χάρητος and Χάρηδος in 52, 6 and 12, and many other double declensions. The son of 46, 13 is Κιδρομάς τρὶς 44 B 6.

<sup>2</sup> He seems to have been priest again

in his old age, after becoming a Roman citizen under Caracalla and taking the *praenomen* Aur. in C. 5. He was father of 53 B 25 and 38 C 17.

<sup>3</sup> Father of St. 43, 12 (A. D. 218), same as 72 B 1 (which must be earlier than 72 A).

<sup>4</sup> See on 124 and 128 A 36 and 129 A 23.



It is worthy of note also that the same persons are mentioned sometimes with the *praenomen* Aur. and sometimes without it: e. g. St. 38 A 5 and 53 C 25.

In the lists a few trades are mentioned, a stone-cutter or sculptor 38 A 11 (cp. also nos. 120, 185, 186, 189), a carpenter 53 B 32, a shoemaker 41 A 20 (reading σκυτέος), a willow-plaiter (λυγοστρόπος [π for φ], a word unknown to Stephanus) 47 C 10.

Some interesting names are Kobellis (connected with Kabalis? or Kybele?), Kadauas or Kadouas (Καδοῦᾱς connected with Κάδοι or Κάδοφοι a Phrygian town-name, ethnic Καδοφηνός), Kidramoas or Kidramas (connected with a Carian or Phrygian town-name Kidramos), Osaïs, Molyx, Moundion, Mounegos or Mongos, Ispatalos (Spatalos), Iskalos, Kourpas, Daron, Tydraëon? (43, 22), Milax or Millax, Draukon, Kikkos, Billios, Boriskos, Sournos, Daos (Δάῤος, θῶς, jackal), Kuburos or Kiburos (conn. with Cibyra), Ouadaros, Midas (perhaps a literary innovation), Moalis (cp. Moagetes king of Cibyra), Bromios, Sataras, Kadourkos, Biron, Vavas, Manes. The Phrygian type of these names (as contrasted with the Pisidian richness in vowels see p. 270) is obvious; and this justifies Strabo's ethnological statement (see pp. 286, 278).

The existence of two inscriptions (nos. 113, 114) mentioning a freedman and a slave (*dispensator*) of M. Calpurnius Longus, and the occurrence of the name Calpurnius among the Pisidian inhabitants, suggest that some member of that *gens* had been an important figure in the history of the estates. The name seems to be used as a species of *praenomen* and is usually abbreviated Kal. or Ka<sup>1</sup> (like *praenomen* Aur. in the third century), and it passes from father to son as a *praenomen* (53 C 12; 18; 24; 72 C 3; 38 A 1; and probably also 53 C 8; 23; 29, and possibly 72 A 2; 53 B 24, 31). Pansa also was a common name in the district (38 A 14 [perhaps B 37<sup>2</sup>]; 43, 12; 72 A 19; 72 B 1; 38 B 23 Κάσιος [δὲς Πάνσα?]). Was a Calpurnius or a Pansa at some time owner of the estates, or governor of the province?

The character of the engraving in the inscriptions must be taken into account. It is done hastily by different hands, at different times, and is often very inaccurate and as a rule scratchy and difficult. Hence it is difficult to distinguish between Μ and ΛΛ, Γ and Τ and Π, Ν and Π, and so on. A careful study of the inscriptions followed by a comparison of the copies with the original stones would probably add much to our knowledge.

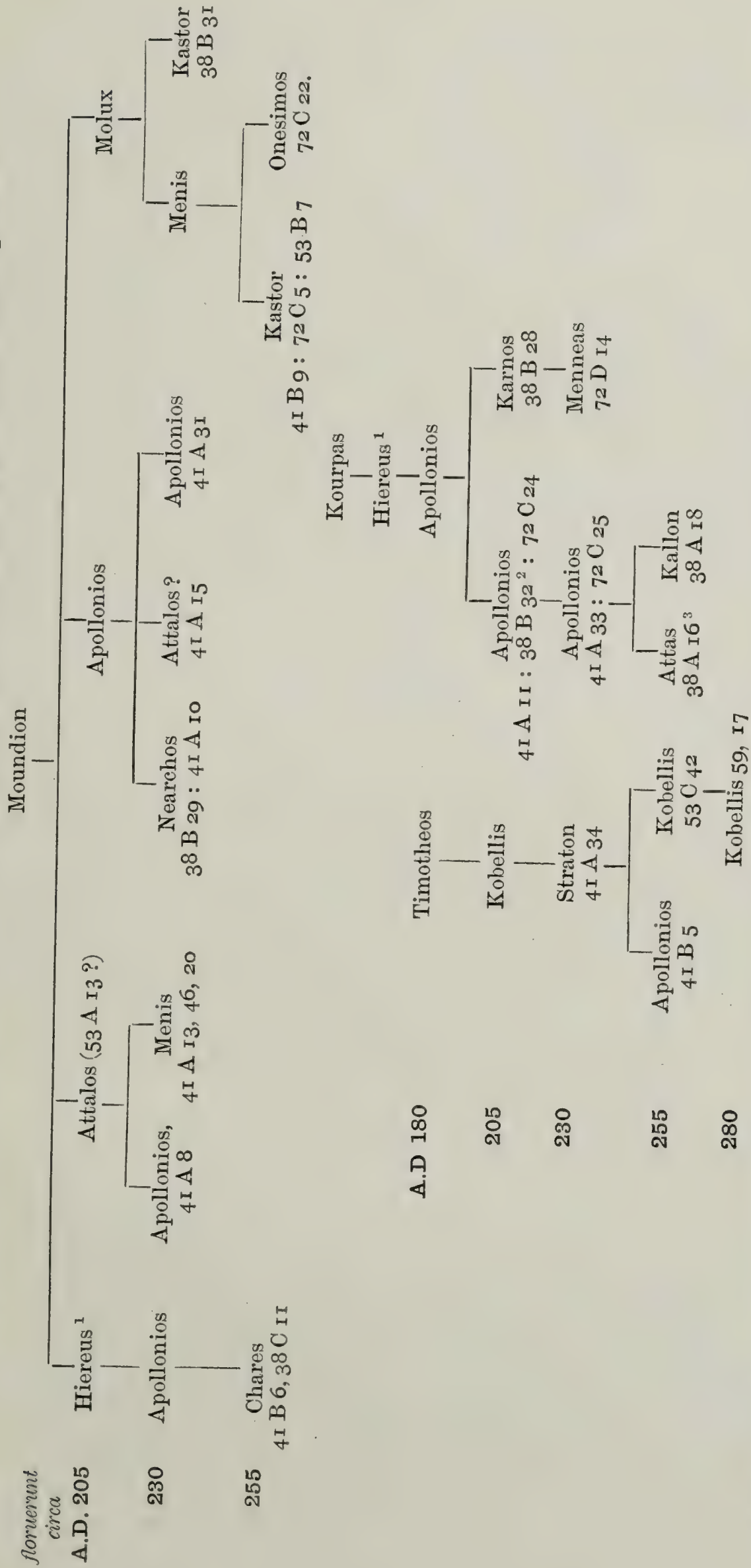
<sup>1</sup> ΚΛ, which in these rude and careless inscriptions can hardly be distinguished from ΚΑ. In most of the cases

where I propose Κα(λπούρνιος) Sterrett reads ΚΛ(αύδιος).

<sup>2</sup> Τ... ΟΥ perhaps for Πάνσου cp. 43, 12.



The accompanying tables will give an idea of the age of the different parts of the inscriptions.



<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to distinguish between the two persons named Hiereus, in cases where their father is not named. This difficulty is felt especially in 38 B 28 and 72 D 14 ; but chronology favours the view adopted in the above tables.

<sup>2</sup> The expression *νέος* must, I think, be taken here as implying second of the name (= *δῖς*).

<sup>3</sup> N. B.—No. 38 A is later than 38 B and C, dating about 255 A. D. See p. 309.



## APPENDIX II.

PHRYGIA TOWARDS PISIDIA (Strab. pp. 576, 577, 569, Polyb. 22, 5, 14).

§ 1. PISIDIAN PHRYGIA indicates a district which Ptolemy V 5, 4, (*Add.* 40), considers to be originally a part of Phrygia, now reckoned to Pisidia. In a strict sense this term should include the entire country which was Phrygian in early time and Pisidian in later time. Pisidian Antioch<sup>1</sup> and the country south from it as far as the frontier of the Orondian country, the north coast of the Limnai, the valley of Apollonia and Talbonda, ought to form part of it; but Ptolemy's list omits several of these parts. He puts Talbonda (Tymandos)<sup>2</sup> in Pisidia proper and Apollonia in Galatia<sup>3</sup>, yet assigns the valleys to the south with Seleuceia, Konana, Baris, and Lysinia, to Pisidian Phrygia<sup>4</sup>. His intention, however, seems to have been to apply the term Pisidian Phrygia to the districts enumerated, along with the valley of Seleuceia, Konana, Minassos, and Baris, and the Askanian lake district; but he failed to carry out his intention perfectly, as was inevitable in his circumstances. He used some Roman lists, e.g. in maritime Pamphylia and Cilicia; but he has given them in a contaminated form. The reason is that they belonged to the first century (which implies that he could not go directly to official sources, but used them as worked up by an older authority); and they gave Pisidia as part of prov. Galatia. Ptolemy had to adapt them to his own time, when most of Pisidia had been transferred to prov. Pamphylia; and in this attempt he made several mistakes. He seems also to have used a list of Pisidia as a whole, apparently by some Greek (probably pre-Roman) authority. He had also lists of districts into which the Roman provinces were divided. If he had given his various lists side by side he would have been more useful to us; but

<sup>1</sup> πόλις Φρυγιακή Strab. p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> Talbonda and Tymandos identical, see *Hist. Geogr.* p. 402, CIL III 6866.

<sup>3</sup> This is strange: if they are not in prov. Galatia, they ought both to be in Pisidian Phrygia. I am not aware that decisive proof can be given whether Apollonia was retained in Galatia after A. D. 74 or assigned to Pamphylia; but we must follow Ptolemy's authority about so important a city until definite proof is found that he is wrong (though he makes a mistake about Isaura, which he

puts in Galatia, though it was certainly in the Triple Eparcheia from about 138 onwards, as its inscriptions prove); whereas an error about the obscure Talbonda is natural from the way in which his list of Pisidia was made. Apollonia was Phrygian Strab. p. 576.

<sup>4</sup> Besides this in Pisidian Phrygia he has Antiocheia, Palaion Beudos, and Kormasa, i. e. Pisidian Antioch the Roman colony, Bindaion or Vinda (§ 5; *Hist. Geogr.* p. 405), and Kormasa near Lysinia (§ 6).



unfortunately his purpose compelled him to harmonize them in a map. He made lists of Pisidian Phrygia and of Milyas<sup>1</sup> good in outline but rather defective: then he took his Greek list of Pisidia as a whole, cut out from it the names which he had already given in these sections, and left the rest in his section of Pisidia proper. Hence in the latter he gives names that properly belong to the former two sections, Talbonda and perhaps Obranassa in Pisidian Phrygia, Olbasa in Milyas. But, making allowance for these faults, his lists are useful, especially that of Phrygian Pisidia, where he correctly aims at giving a country originally part of Phrygia, which gradually came to be reckoned to Pisidia. It extends to include Lysinia and Kormasa, frontier cities between Milyas and Pisidian Phrygia. But other considerations force us to assign these two cities definitely to Milyas. The spirit of Ptolemy's own lists proves that Sagalassos was strictly Pisidian, and the southern boundary of Pisidian Phrygia was the lofty ridge (c. 8000 feet) stretching east and west between Sagalassos and the valley of Minassos and Isbarta. But Sagalassos owned the land all along the east and south coast of lake Askania, § 4. This stretch must be taken as the border of Pisidia and Phrygia; and Kormasa and Lysinia must be left to Milyas<sup>2</sup>. This line of demarcation agrees excellently both with Artemidorus's list of Pisidia<sup>3</sup> and with Strabo's account of Milyas, and may be regarded as accurate.

<sup>1</sup> The latter, by a singular error, he calls Kabalia; I believe this to be a mere slip, for he classes the town Milyas in it. He has a division Milyas in Lycia, due to the idea that the Termilai of Lycia were originally called Milyes Strab. p. 573.

<sup>2</sup> As to the bounds of Milyas the *locus classicus* is Strabo p. 631 'Milya [surely we should read *Μιλυάς* here as on pp. 570, 666] is the mountain-country that extends from the narrows at Termessos and the crossing through these narrows to Isinda, leading (out of maritime Pamphylia) into the cis-Tauric region, as far as Sagalassos and the country of the Apameans.' On p. 666 Strabo speaks of Termessos as 'situated on the narrows through which lies the crossing into Milyas.' A comparison of the two passages shows that Strabo considered Isinda to be in Milyas. Milyas was bounded on N.E. by Sagalassos and Apamean territory. Now Sagalassos owned all

the country as far as Deuer (§ 4); hence it is implied that Milyas reached up to and included such cities as Kremna, Komama, Kormasa, and Lysinia (together with Ariassos, Ouerbis or Barbis, Pogla, Andeda, Kretopolis [Polyb. V 72], Kolbasa), and that where it ceased to border on Sagalassos it met Apameia (i.e. about Takina). The Cyllanian estates (*χωρία Μιλυαδικά*) and the modern village Milli (N.E. from Kretopolis) may be taken as the extremest western and eastern parts of Milyas. Kretopolis was the city of the Keraeítai (who are united with Kremna on coins, Imhoof MG p. 337), as Petersen says II p. 192: it was probably beside Badem-Agatch, and seems to be the same as Panemou Teichos (or at least close to it and under the same bishop).

<sup>3</sup> It is quoted by Strabo p. 570, Selge, Sagalassos, Petnelissos, Adada, Tymbriada, Kremna, Pityassos (l. Tityassos), Amblada, Anaboura, Sinda, Aarassos



§ 2. THE FRONTIER BETWEEN GALATIA AND ASIA would be best determined by inscriptions proving that the places where they have been found were in one province or in the other. If a sufficient number were found, no other authority would be required. But few have been found; and while their evidence is conclusive as to the place and the time to which they belong, a question remains whether the frontier varied at different times. The frontiers of the provinces varied a good deal, and the frontier of Galatia varied more than that of any other province. The important facts vouched for by inscriptions or coins are as follows:

- (1) The Ormeleis were in Asia about 200 A.D.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) Olbasa was in Galatia from c. 6 B.C. onwards.
- (3) Takina was in Asia in 130 B.C. and about 200 A.D. (and in 130 B.C. it reckoned distance from Ephesos through Apameia).
- (4) The country at the S.W. end of lake Askania was in Galatia in 54 A.D. (§ 4 and no. 165).

Further to elucidate these facts we must have recourse to topographical and historical evidence of a more general kind. The most important passage is Pliny V 147; where is given a list of the important cities of the province (besides Ancyra, Tavium, Pessinus). It is unfortunately very corrupt; and I add it in two versions, the text of Sillig, and the text which I believe right.

SILLIG'S TEXT.	CORRECTED TEXT.
Actalenses, Arasenses, Comenses, Didienses, Hierorenses, Lystreni, Neapolitani, Oeandenses, Seleucenses, Sebasteni, Timoniacenses, Thebaseni <sup>2</sup> .	Adadenses, Alastenses, Comamenses, Hydenses, Iconienses, Lystreni, Neapolitani, Orondenses, Seleucenses, Sebasteni, Timoniacenses, Tobaseni.

(1. Isinda, Ariassos), Tarbassos, Termessos. Tarbassos seems an error due to assimilation to Termessos. Perhaps Korbassos is the correct reading, Ptolemy's Korbasa, Kolbassos of coins, and Kolbasa of Hierocles (though Petersen II 14 prefers the correction *Τάβαι*). Strabo's comments added to this list are very incorrect: and it is clear from several passages that he had quite a mistaken idea of Pisidian topography. His account of the extent of Milyas p. 631 is, however, derived from a good authority.

<sup>1</sup> They were accustomed to date then

either by the Sullan or the Cibyrate era; on their milestones under Severus the distance was reckoned 'from Cibyra' (inscr. 141); and natives of Cibyra resided on the estate, apparently as *coloni*.

<sup>2</sup> The following variants are important, Alasenses and Alassenses, Comenses, Didyenses, Hiconenses, and Hieronenses, Tebaseni and Tobiseni and Thebiseni and Tarbaseni (there seems here to be a tendency to alter the obscure Tobasa or Tobata to suit Thebasa of Pliny V 95).



Akkilaion was a city on the north frontier of Asia and Galatia (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 225); but, although this correction Accilaenses is the easiest, yet I believe the conjecture of Hardouin *Adadenses* is right. Towns of Galatia in the narrow sense are hardly in place here, because they have already been given; moreover the coins of Akkilaion belong rather to Asia than to Galatia, and further the arrangement suggests that Pliny after taking the first nine from southern Galatia, selected the last three from Galatic Pontus and Paphlagonia<sup>1</sup>. *Hydenses* is also doubtful, for Hyde is given by Pliny V 95 in the extra-Galatian part of Lycaonia; but it was probably transferred to Galatia in 41 or 74 A. D.<sup>2</sup>

The other readings seem too obvious to need justification. They involve very slight change in MS. readings, and the readings adopted by Sillig give names either unknown or extra-Galatian<sup>3</sup>.

This list enables us to approximate to the Galatian frontier on this side during the first century; and, if we can assume (as I think we can) that the military road connecting the fortresses Komama and Olbasa with the military centre Antioch must have been under the authority of the imperial governor of Galatia (not under the senatorial governor of Asia), we have a narrowly defined frontier. The only point where any doubt remains is as to the Ormelian estates, which belonged to Asia in the century B. C. and also about 200 A. D. Was that always the case? The answer is given in the next sentence of this same passage of Pliny, *attingit Galatia et Pamphyliæ Cabaliam et Milyas qui circa Barbin sunt*<sup>4</sup> *et Cyllanicum et Orondicum Pisidiæ tractum, item Lycaoniæ partem Obigenen*. The sense of this passage depends on the force of *attingit*. Does this word denote countries outside or districts inside the boundary line? The former sense is more in accordance with analogy and general usage<sup>5</sup>. But it is certain that most of the districts mentioned were in Galatia<sup>6</sup>; so it seems necessary to understand that *attingit* here means

<sup>1</sup> Sebasteia was incorporated in Galatia in 63 A. D., Timonitis and Tobata (Ptolemy V 4, 5) of Paphlagonia in 5 B. C. (see *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 251).

<sup>2</sup> I hope to publish shortly a paper on the history of the province Galatia 25 B. C.—74 A. D.

<sup>3</sup> Arasa (i. e. Araxa) in Lycia, Thebasa in Lycaonia Antiochiana (which was afterwards assigned to Cappadocia). Actala, Coma, Didia, Hieroros, Oeanda are unknown.

<sup>4</sup> MSS. have Barim or Barin. Barbis

or Verbis (see *Notitiæ*) is a town in Milyas. Baris was not in Milyas: see pp. 322, 324.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Cicero *ad Fam.* XV 4, in *Pis.* 16, *de Nat. Deor.* II. 54, Caesar *B. G.* II 15.

<sup>6</sup> The Orondeis and Obizene (Ptol. V 4, 12, *Hist. Geogr.* p. 251) and the Milyad were in Galatia: the district here called Kabalia is more doubtful; but Amyntas's kingdom (which was made into province Galatia) included part of Pamphylia. Probably the dis-



‘reaches up to and includes<sup>1</sup>.’ The *Cyllanicus tractus* in that case was included in Galatia during the first century; and this term, as we have seen, denotes the Ormelian estates. These estates must have been subsequently restored to Asia, and no time seems so probable for the restoration as A.D. 74, when the enlarged province of Pamphylia was instituted and combined with Lycia<sup>2</sup>. Olbasa and Palaiapolis-Alastos (see below) were included in the new Pamphylia<sup>3</sup>; but apparently the imperial estates were conjoined with the other vast imperial properties of Asia (convenience of administration was probably the reason). Probably, convenience of administration was also the reason why the estates were separated from Asia by Augustus and put under the procurator of Galatia: at that time the imperial officials in the senatorial province were not so well organized, and the imperial estates on the frontier were transferred to the imperial province, where the procurator of Galatia seems to have managed them (no. 165).

During the greater part of the first century then, Galatia embraced the entire valley of the Lysis, and Keretapa and Takina were the frontier towns of Asia on the south. But before Augustus and after 74 A.D. the frontier of Asia passed between Hassan-Pasha and Belenli (a village beside Olbasa), and through the length of lake Askania (nearly as indicated in *Hist. Geogr.*<sup>4</sup> ch. E).

In this argument it has been assumed that Pliny used the term *attigit* in the same sense about all the places mentioned. But if scholars who are masters of his style should admit the possibility that he used it in two different senses, meaning that ‘Galatia touches Kabalia of Pamphylia outside the frontier and the Milyae inside the frontier; and the Cyllanian tract outside and the Orondian inside, also Obizene inside,’ then it would be easy to keep the Asian frontier uniform throughout the Roman period. But, while acknowledging this possibility, I cannot

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strict between Termessos and Karalitis is meant; but I am not aware of any proof that Termessos was included in the realm of Amyntas or in the Galatia of the first century.

<sup>1</sup> This may be defended by such usages as *attigisti Asiam* Cicero *ad Q. F.* I 1, 8, (cp. Tac. *Ann.* IV 45) and by the analogy of Livy XXVII 5 *Romanum agrum Italia terminari*.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny therefore must have depended on an authority earlier than that year. But, of course, that is quite certain from several other points in his account of

Galatia: he describes that province as it was in the middle of the first century, making a few omissions.

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy mentions Olbasa in Pamphylia; and the coins of both cities are not of the Asian style.

<sup>4</sup> But, in place of carrying the frontier along the course of the Lysis, I should now rather carry it from lake Askania to Deuer and then down the ridge that bounds the Lysis valley on north as far as Kaldjik, where it would cross the plain and pass between Olbasa and Hassan-Pasha.



in my present state of knowledge allow that Pliny used *attingit* in this awkward double sense.

§ 3. ALASTOS is known from three inscriptions, 114-6. It was apparently a place of some importance, being an administrative centre before Olbasa was founded as a Roman colony (c. B.C. 6). From the fact that two inscriptions which mention Alastos were found at Karamanli, and that the estate there was called 'the localities in the neighbourhood of Alastos,' we may gather that the city adjoined the estate; and as the third inscription was found at Kormasa, much further east, we may infer that Alastos was a little east of Karamanli<sup>1</sup>.

Alastos, which bears a native name<sup>2</sup>, was probably the old Phrygian (or Pisidian?) city of the upper Lysis valley; and the *hieron* of Zeus Sabazios was the religious centre connected with it. The territory attached to the *hieron* as the property of the god (the finest and richest of the neighbourhood), was, as usual, taken as the property of the more civilized and better organized governments of Pergamos and of Rome; but the old city retained its rank as a self-governing community or *polis*. But the wealth of the fertile estates (especially when organized by the *lex Hadriana*), and the Roman character and military prestige of the colony Olbasa, naturally overshadowed the old Anatolian city. The latter however still existed, and is mentioned by Pliny as one of the *demosi* of the province Galatia (see § 2) during the first century. None of the inscriptions that mention it seem later than the second century; and it does not seem to be mentioned by Ptolemy or in any Byzantine list. Must we then conclude that it passed out of existence? The entire decay of a city when the country was steadily prosperous is not probable. Now Hierocles mentions a city Palaiapolis between Olbasa and Lysinia; and the situation where Alastos has just been placed suits this order exactly. Palaiapolis then must have been a neighbour of Alastos. Can we infer that Alastos is the Palaia-Polis, adopting as a name the title which it would use to distinguish itself from its younger neighbours Hadriana and Olbasa? Some coins of Palaiapolis are known, belonging to the period; and our hypothesis would explain the apparent want of coins of the city Alastos, which certainly should be expected to coin money.

The bishop of Palaiapolis is called in the later *Notitiae* ὁ Παλαιαπόλεως

<sup>1</sup> I formerly inferred that it was actually the town of the estate at Karamanli; but the passage of Pliny quoted above and the analogy of Eriza seem to show that it was a city and a centre

of administration. The estate is not called Alastos, but it is said to be *περὶ Ἀλαστον*.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Alasta, name of a woman at Mylasa *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 p. 275.



ἡτοι Ἀλευροῦ (or Ἀλιεροῦ), implying that there were in the diocese two centres of population (according to a common fact in the Byzantine period). It is possible that the latter name can be traced in a fragmentary inscription no. 119 found about six miles east of Karamanli. The accessible evidence is, therefore, scanty and insufficient to warrant any positive assertion; but it points to the conclusion that Palaiapolis-Alastos owned the undulating country of the middle Lysis valley, touching the estates and Olbasa on west and south, and reaching east to Lysinia. This 'Old City' struck coins of Antoninus Pius with legend ΠΑΛΑΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ and types Zeus and Demeter; and under Severus and Caracalla with ΠΑΛΕΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ · ΘΕΜΙC. In the religious types we recognize grecized forms of Demeter and Zeus Sabazios, whose priests we have found so often in the inscriptions of Hadriana.

§ 4. TYMBRIANASSOS AND OBRANASSA. The important inscription no. 165 is on a large, rough, and heavy stone which is not likely to have been carried far. Deuer (or Duwar, Wall) a village about five miles S.W. from lake Askania and three miles east from Yarashli (Takina) was on the boundary line between Sagalassos and the imperial estate of Tymbrianassos. To judge from the situation the line of demarcation probably ran from Deuer to the corner of the lake leaving to Sagalassos Yazikeui, Yarik-Keui and the western shore, and some part at least of the western shore to the estate. There must remain some doubt as to the extent of this estate, and consequently as to the precise situation of the small town which gave its name to the entire property. The estate was probably of considerable size, and Tymbrianassos may not have been close to Deuer. There seem to be two alternatives, in view of the localities and remains<sup>1</sup>; Tymbrianassos may have lain south at Eyinesh or N.E. on the shore of the lake near Ilias or Elyes. I once took the former view (founding on the resemblance between Eyinesh and the latter part of Tymbri-anassos); but, in that case it is difficult to find a good estate alongside of the territory of Lysinia and Sagalassos: there would remain for the imperial property little except barren hillside (whereas we may confidently assume that an imperial estate was valuable). Moreover, this view has suggested nothing further; it stands by itself, and brings out no elucidations of the topography and history and epigraphy of the district<sup>2</sup>. Finally Eyinesh seems to correspond to Lysinia § 6. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> As far as I could discover, there is no trace of an ancient settlement nearer than Ilias, except Lysinia on one side and Takina on another, which are otherwise identified.

<sup>2</sup> A view which is correct rarely, if ever, fails to illuminate the surrounding country, and to impart new meaning to our authorities, literary or epigraphic, as study continues.



ingly I now have recourse to the other alternative, that the estate of Tymbrianassa<sup>1</sup> extended along the lake towards Elyes, which was the administrative centre. It must be acknowledged that there are difficulties in this view, and that it is as yet a mere conjecture; but it seems to elucidate the subject a little. It is difficult to find in our authorities any ancient name corresponding to Elyes on the former alternative, although the numerous inscriptions show it to have been a place of importance; but if Elyes is Tymbrianassa, we may conjecture that Ptolemy's Orbanassa or Obranassa<sup>2</sup> is a corruption of the same name under the influence of the preceding name Olbasa.

Again Hierocles mentions a place Regesalamara, which is obviously regio-sal-amara, the region of the bitter-salt-lake Askania. Next to it he has Maximianopolis and the estate (κτημα) of Maximianopolis; and this estate placed alongside of Regesalamara must obviously be the estate of Tymbrianassa on the coast of lake Askania<sup>3</sup>. Tymbrianassa therefore must have changed its name under Maximian. Now at Deuer, where the boundary stone was found, there is a dedication to Diocletian and Maximian, and at Elyes are several milestones belonging to the years immediately following; and there was therefore some imperial activity in this region, which would be in keeping with the giving of a new name.

These arguments are all vague and of little value; but at present there is not sufficient evidence to afford better grounds for judging.

There is one objection to this identification. The inscriptions of Elyes mention its 'Senate and Demos'; and therefore it must have been a self-governing city, not an imperial estate. But Hierocles distinguishes the city from the estate of Maximianopolis, and therefore we must understand that part of the territory of Maximianopolis had been taken as an estate, though it continued to exist as a *polis*. It seems indeed highly probable that Elyes was originally only a *kome* of Apameia; and that it was taken from Apameia when the shore-line was selected for Augustus's military road to Komama and Olbasa.

The modern name Elles or Elyes or Ilias (which last, as Sterrett rightly noticed, is the correct form) may perhaps be an example of a Saint's name being attached to the town where he was worshipped; but a Seljuk prince Ilias, ruler of Caria and Lycia, was expelled by

<sup>1</sup> The forms in -assos and -assa are equivalent, as we see from many other examples.

<sup>2</sup> Both forms occur in the MSS. On Ptolemy's list see § 1.

<sup>3</sup> For several years I erred in thinking

that the estate of Maximianopolis was the Ormelian property; and this error barred further progress. But in *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1893 p. 254 I reached the view stated above.



Bayazid in 1390 or 1391, and it seems more probable that his name passed to a town in his dominion (assuming that Elyes was so), as was the case with Aidin, Karaman, Mentesh, &c.

Rege-sal-amara in Hierocles's list is followed by Limobrama; these probably sum up the territory of Sagalassos on lake Askania<sup>1</sup>. The Byzantine policy broke up the dominion of the great cities, like Sagalassos, Apameia, Nakoleia. While Sagalassos was put in Byzantine Pisidia, most of the lake coast seems to have been assigned to Pamphylia. I formerly conjectured that Limobrama is a corruption of Limno-bria<sup>2</sup>. That the east coast of lake Askania must have belonged to Sagalassos seems a necessary inference from nos. 165-7. Here we have to deal with the city of Sagalassos directly, not merely with a town under its rule. When the people of Yazı-Keui or Deuer do honour to Marcus Aurelius or Diocletian, it is the city of Sagalassos that acts: the inscriptions are conceived exactly in the tone of an inscription within the walls of Sagalassos: the people are Sagalassians. Now we must always bear in mind that the *polis* means, not the circle of the fortified centre, but the entire territory in which the Sagalassian citizens live. This seems to imply that the territory extended continuous and unbroken from the fortified centre to Deuer; and in that case Burdur and the Askanian coast as far as Kishla and Eski-Yere must have also been Sagalassian, for the one easy and direct road from the centre to Deuer passes through Kurna and Burdur. Hence I am constrained to reject M. Radet's theory that Baris was not situated (where all previous authorities have put it) at Isbarta, but at Burdur<sup>3</sup>. I was strongly prepossessed in favour of his ingenious idea; but after months of deliberation I have been unable to work out a consistent plan of the country as a whole, if Baris was at Burdur. The strongest argument in his favour is Pliny's phrase *Milyae qui circa Barin sunt* (obviously a translation οἱ περὶ Βάριν Μιλύαι): Milyas, as he urges, reached to Burdur, but not to Isbarta. But (1) we have found that Milyas did not touch Burdur: Sagalassos cuts off Burdur from Milyas, which was strictly Pisidian, dividing Burdur from Milyas with a broad stretch of country. Barbis or Verbis was in the heart of Milyas; and we must read *Barbin* in Pliny.

<sup>1</sup> Probably they were included in the bishopric of Maximianopolis: similarly Prostanna (Egerdir) was included in the bishopric of the Limnai.

<sup>2</sup> Bria means 'city.'

<sup>3</sup> M. Radet's theory (stated in *Rev. Archéolog.* 1893 p. 193 f) would I think have been more plausible if he had

placed Baris at Kilij, quoting in his support no. 153 (= Sterrett *W. E.* 600). That would involve the placing of Eudoxiopolis at Elyes, Bindaïos at Fandas, and Maximianopolis at Yazı-Keui. These slight changes would not conflict with the rather vague evidence that exists in this question, see p. 325 n. 2.



(2) M. Radet understands that Isbarta (Sparta)<sup>1</sup> retains the name Saporda; Sáporda is accented on the first syllable, and the accented syllable regularly persists as such when the name remains in modern use; whereas Sparta-Isbarta has lost the accented syllable of Σάπορδα.

(3) But a more fatal objection seems to be that Polybius distinctly implies that Saporda was close to the pass of Kretopolis. The situation was this (Polyb. V 72). The Selgians were at war with Pednelissos. Garsyeris advanced (from Sardis) through Milyas to aid Pednelissos. The Selgians learning this occupied the narrows about Klimax; a pass which, as the sequel shows, and as is universally admitted, led from the upper country towards Perga and the sea-coast. With the larger part of their force they held the narrows, and (with the rest presumably) they occupied the pass that led to Saporda, and they destroyed all the crossings and approaches (διόδους καὶ προσβάσεις). What then is the pass to Saporda (τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν ἐπὶ Σάπορδα)? It is obviously the pass which would permit Garsyeris to cross the mountains eastwards towards Selgian or Pednelissian territory; and Saporda must be on the *home side* of the pass (εἰσβολὴν ἐπὶ). But Sparta, where M. Radet places Saporda, is on the *outside* of a pass leading from Selge northwards; and could not possibly play any part in the operations against Garsyeris. To detach troops towards Sparta when their enemy was advancing by Kretopolis would be madness<sup>2</sup>. The further course of operations strengthens this view. Garsyeris pretended to retire from Kretopolis. Thereupon the Selgians, concluding that he despaired, returned, some to their camp and some to their city. Now, had troops been guarding the pass to Saporda, as a defence against the possible advance of some army from Sardis by Sparta, the fact that Garsyeris retired from Kretopolis would give no reason to evacuate the pass to Saporda. Finally it is apparently implied by Polybius that Garsyeris, advancing once more after the Selgians had gone away, seized the passes previously occupied by them.

Our conclusion is that Saporda is not to be placed at Sparta, and that

<sup>1</sup> The name is always pronounced Spárta by Turks and Greeks throughout the country; but I am told that the official spelling is Isbárta. I remembered Col. Stewart, military consul in Konia vilayet, who spoke Turkish fluently, telling how amused every one seemed to be when he spoke of 'Isbarta.' Either form suits the derivation from Σ-Βάρ(ι)δα, εἰς Βάριδα well: but I cannot see how Σάπορδα could come to be Isbárta. The accent is the vital element in old names.

<sup>2</sup> It is expressly said that the Selgians occupied by a hasty movement (προκατ.) the narrowest pass after they had learned that Garsyeris was close on them (παρουσίαν); they therefore knew exactly what roads or passes would serve him before they took the measures described. But if it be possible to understand a pass leading northwards, I should take Σάπορδα as Aporidos kome (Livy 38, 15, now Baradis), cp. Σαγαλασσός-Ἀγαλατσός, etc.



the opinion of all previous scholars must be preferred in the present state of the evidence to M. Radet's ingenious suggestion. Burdur was perhaps Limno-bria (town-of-the-lake JHS 1883 p. 406) or Rege-sal-amara; and Byzantine Pamphylia included all the lake-territory except the valley at the northern and north-eastern end.

§ 5. BINDAION OR EUDOXIOPOLIS. The probability stated in *Hist. Geogr.* p. 404 that Theodosiopolis (or Eudoxiopolis) was the town near Kilij seems as strong as the scanty evidence about this district permits<sup>1</sup>. The imperial estate around it was τὸ Βίνδαιον (κτῆμα), whose bishop (ὁ τοῦ Βινδαίου) is mentioned in the *Notitiae*<sup>2</sup>. The original name of the town, then, must have been Οὐίνδα, and this must be the Pisidian town mentioned by Ptolemy in the enlarged province Pamphylia as Οὐίνζελα<sup>3</sup>. Ptolemy puts Ouinzela and Orbanassa in the same group; and our hypotheses have led us to place them both in the valley of the lake.

§ 6. LYSINIA AND KORMASA. The sites of these two towns are closely connected, for ambassadors from the former came to Manlius immediately after he left the latter, and while he was marching along a lake, p. 327 n. 3, beside the Sagalassian territory. Lysinia may be confidently placed on the Lysis; now Manlius passed its fountains close to Lagbe between Cibyra and Isinda (Ch. VIII § 11), so that it is fixed as the river which flows to lake Askania (whose coast was Sagalassian territory, insers. 165-7)<sup>4</sup>. We have, p. 267, traced Manlius's march from Termessos northward, and the site which he reached in perhaps two days<sup>5</sup> from Xylene

<sup>1</sup> Only two other possibilities seem open, (1) Eudoxiopolis is Elyes, (2) it is Burdur; and to both of these several objections suggest themselves.

<sup>2</sup> The boundary of this estate was marked by a stone found at Baradis (Aporidos-Kome) three miles east of Kilij, no. 164.

<sup>3</sup> In Anatolian nomenclature ζ and δ often interchange (just as ου and β do), see *Hist. Geogr.* pp. 227, 285; and Οὐίνζελα may be a corruption of Οὐίνζεα, plural of Οὐίνδαιον (should the accentuation be Βινδαῖον, Οὐνδαῖον?).

<sup>4</sup> This subject is discussed more fully ASP § E, and I have little to change or improve in the discussion. It is generally assumed by writers on this subject that Manlius entered maritime Pamphylia and returned past Kestel lake. But Livy and Polybius make it clear that he advanced not quite so far

as Termessos (which is counted part of Pamphylia), and turned back from there. Moreover the lake which he reached is represented as being within two days of Apameia and Rhocrini Fontes, and as being at least six from the point where he turned back. This consideration seems fatal to Kestel lake. Further the order of Hierocles, Olbasa, Palaiapolis, Lysinia, demands such a situation as we have suggested for Lysinia; and it seems natural to suppose that it lay near the line of Manlius's march, though obviously it was not on it.

<sup>5</sup> *Continentibus itineribus*, these continuous journeys are not likely to have been more than two, as the journey is very fully described. From Xylene Kome to Giaour-Euren is full six hours over a lofty pass through forest and difficult country, roadless in 189 B.C.



Kome must have been that of Giaour-Euren. This then must be Kormasa, mentioned by Ptolemy in Pisidian Phrygia, and by the Peutinger Table <sup>1</sup> on a road that leads south to Pamphylia. The statement of the Table suits well the position of Giaour-Euren, near the pass on the great road that leads across it from the lake district (and from Pisidian Antioch the central colony) to the Roman colony Komama and on to Perga.

Kolbasa of Hierocles, the Korbasa of Ptolemy's Pisidia proper, should probably be distinguished from Kormasa <sup>2</sup>. Hierocles seems to pass from Lysinia across the pass to Komama, and then on past Kolbasa to Kremna, Panemou Teichos, and Ariassos, which form a group. Thereafter he takes the outlying group on lake Askania at the N.E. corner of the province; and finally the east frontier. Kolbasa then would naturally be between Komama and Kremna; and the city, whose inscriptions (mentioning senate and demos) are in a cemetery four miles N.N.E. from Kestel, fulfils that condition perfectly. Here then I should place Kolbasa, while Kodroula (which my former conjecture put there) seems to belong either to the eastern frontier or to the Askanian lake district.

From Kormasa Manlius marched to the lake <sup>3</sup>, obviously Askania, entertaining ambassadors from Lysinia, the neighbouring city, which dreaded a possible attack and sent to propitiate him. Then he ravaged the Sagalassian territory, and was bought off by ambassadors from the city (which evidently he did not approach). Thereafter he marched by Aporidos-Kome (Baradis) to Rhocrini Fontes <sup>4</sup> and thence to Metropolis (in Tchul-Ovasi).

<sup>1</sup> It must be noticed that the Table has made two roads into one; the road from Laodiceia goes by Themision, Phylakaion, Cibyra, Lagbe, Isinda, Termessos, to Perga. The road from Apa-meia (or from Antioch and Apollonia) goes by Kilij (Bindaion), Ilias, Kormasa, Komama, Panemou Teichos, to Perga.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly I tried to identify Kolbasa, Korbasa, and Kormasa; and possibly this may yet be found right. But the balance of evidence is against my first view (as Petersen II 192 rightly says); Ptolemy's distinction of two towns agrees with the fact that Hierocles points to one site for Kolbasa and Livy with the Table to a different site for Kormasa.

<sup>3</sup> Livy says *paludes*, but his authority Polybius says *λίμνην*. I distrust also

Livy's city Darsa. Polybius says that Manlius having captured Kurmasa and much booty proceeded on his march, while Livy says that Manlius reached Kormasa and found Darsa, a neighbour-city, full of supplies. Was there a double reading in the *volumen* used by Livy which led him to duplicate the city?

<sup>4</sup> It appears then to be no great distance to the fountains. Their situation is indubitable (JHS 1883 p. 68), being one of the small number of fixed points in this investigation: they are the famous fountains Aurokreni (grecized as *αὐλο-κρήνη*, and giving rise to the famous legend of the flute, *αὐλός*). The name is corrupted to Rhotrini (l. Rhocrini). Evidently Manlius marched along the lake slowly, waiting for the ambas-



I have placed Lysinia, on grounds that seem quite satisfactory, on the Lysis beside an old bridge between the villages of Kosluja and Eyinesh. Below Eyinesh there is an ancient site which I have not seen: it is described clearly and well by M. Duchesne BCH 1879 p. 480. Formerly I distinguished this from the bridge-site, but now I recognize that they are too near to be distinguished; they must belong to one single city.

## APPENDIX III.

## INSCRIPTIONS OF KERETAPA AND VALENTIA, AND MILESTONES.

## 1. KERETAPA.

132. (R. 1884: A. H. Smith no. 54). Kaya-dibi: on a large altar.

ΔΙΕΙ ΚΑΙCΑΡΙ

133. (R. 1884: A. H. Smith<sup>1</sup> no. 57). Kaya-dibi; rude and difficult lettering. Χέρετε, παροδεῖται. Αὐρ. Εἰρηναῖος εἰστρατιώτης ἐστρατεύσετο ἐνδόξως, πολλοὺς ὤλεσε [λι]στὰς διὰ χιρῶν, ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Λυκίᾳ Λιμύροις εἰδίῳ(?) θανάτῳ· οἱ [ἀ]δελποὶ αὐτοῦ Παπίας καὶ Τειμίας οἱ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Συριχε[—] τὸ κενοτάφιον μνήμης χάριν ἐποίησαν.

This should be added to the examples quoted in the *Church in the Roman Empire* p. 31, of the brigandage that prevailed in the Pisidian mountains. We have here a distinct proof of the existence (perhaps in the fourth century) of a kind of soldiery, distinct from the regular army, charged with the maintenance of order in the mountainous district between Lycia and Phrygia. Probably these soldiers were substituted for the φυλακῖται of earlier time (pp. 256 f, 281). Compare the Egyptian ληστοπιασταί (O. Hirschfeld in *Berl. Sitzungsab.* 1892 p. 816).

134. (R. 1886). Kara-at-li. ἔτους σπζ', μη(νὸς) s': the rest illegible. On the date see no. 135.

135. (R. 1886). Tcheltik. [—] Ἑρμῆ[δος] Αἰλ(ία) Γρα[π]τῇ τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ γυναικὶ μνείας χάριν· ἔτους σδδ' (A.D. 199–200).

This date, and A. H. Smith no. 56 ἔτους τλθ', seem to be calculated on the Sullan era. They can hardly be so late as A.D. 299 and 354 (Ciby-ratic era); and no. 126 gives a certain example of the Sullan era.

sadors, who would meet him north of Burdur. It is barely 18 miles from the north end of the lake to the fountains.

<sup>1</sup> He reads ὤλεσεν στάς, but Ν and ΛΙ are hardly distinguishable in this rude text.



136. (R. 1886). Tcheltik. Φίλητος Ἀντωνιάδος Δὲ εὐχήν: enlarged by a second hand to Φίλητος Ἀντωνιάδος Διὶ τὸν ΕΥΧΗΝ βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν, with εὐχήν standing in its original place on the stone.

137. (R. 1886). Tcheltik. Ζώσιμος Νεικάδου ἀνέστησα τὴν στήλην ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ Τροφίμου καὶ Τροφίμου πενθεροῦ καὶ Τατεῖ πενθερᾶς καὶ Βαβεῖ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τέκνων. The inscription, though in the form of a vow, is probably to be understood as sepulchral. The genitives Τατεῖ, Βαβεῖ, are interesting forms. The names Tatas, Tatis, Tattion, Tottes (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 181), and many others, personal and local, form an important class. So do the numerous forms like Babis, Babas, Ouauas, Ououas<sup>1</sup>, Baubo, Babo, Baboas, Banba, Baba (cp. Boubon in Kabalis, Bubassos in Caria) JHS 1882 p. 126. *Add.* 25.

Five epitaphs from Kaya-dibi are given by A. H. Smith. The only point of interest is the name Ἀλυσ, *gen.* Ἀλυδος.

## 2. TAKINA.

138. (R. 1884: A. H. Smith no. 12 with slight differences: Wadd. 1700 and CIG 3956 b with serious differences<sup>2</sup>). Yarashli. ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς (of Severus, Caracalla, Nea Hera Julia, Geta [erased], the whole house of the Emperors, and the Senate and Roman People, in the proconsulate of Tarius Titianus) τῇ γλυκντάτῃ πατρίδι τῷ Τακινέων δήμῳ μετὰ πάσας ἀρχὰς τε καὶ λειτουργίας καὶ διαποντίους πρεσβείας ἃς ἤνυσεν ἐπὶ θεοῦ Κορμούδου, Τρύφων Ἀπολλωνίδου ὑποσχόμενος ἀπὸ προικὸς Ἰάδος θυγατρὸς ἰδίας ἡρω[ίδ]ος, καὶ προσφιλοτειμησάμενος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀμμᾶς Δαοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν Βασιλῶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῶν λό[γ]ον ἐπὶ τῷ καὶ αὐτὰς διὰ βίου μετέχειν ἐκτελέσας τὸ βαλανεῖον παρέδωκεν. On the death of his daughter Ias<sup>3</sup>, Tryphon took her intended dowry and devoted it to constructing a bath: as the dowry proved insufficient, he with his wife made an addition to it for the credit of their surviving daughter Basilo, completed the bath and presented it to the Demos on condition that his wife and daughter as well as himself should have certain rights over it. The magistracies which Tryphon had held, and his service as ambassador to Rome under Commodus, may possibly have been on account of Apameia, which was ruler of the territory of Takina (Ch. IX § 7); but we know nothing of the constitution of Takina and

<sup>1</sup> These two forms, quite Pisidian in abundance of vowels (p. 270), are found in Lycia and Pisidia (no. 101 note, Benndorf *Lykia* II 194).

<sup>2</sup> The independent copies are three,

Arundel's, Davis's, and that of Smith and myself: the stone had suffered, and the last line been wholly lost, before we saw it.

<sup>3</sup> The word ἡρωῖς implies her death.



its relation to Apameia. It may have been a *civitas attributa*, possessing officials of its own, passing decrees, and merely paying dues to Apameia, as Orkistos did to Nakoleia, or Stratonikaia Lydiae did to Thyatira<sup>1</sup>, before they were constituted self-governing cities by Constantine and by Hadrian. In that case Tryphon would be a magistrate of Takina, and he might go to Rome to ask for justice against Apameia. Further evidence is required to decide the question. Embassies to Rome were counted very expensive; and it was a great service to go at private cost (see Dittenberger *Sylloge* no. 246, from Sestos), but it is not clearly stated that Tryphon paid his own expenses.

139. (R. 1884: A. H. Smith no. 51). On the left epistyle block of a heroön: Yarashli. Ἔτους σιθ' · μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισίου · Συρὸς Ἀρτέμωνος καὶ Μυρσίνης Νάνας [ἐποίησαν τὸν τύμβον τοῦ ἰδίου παιδὸς Ἀρτέμωνος?] ἀποδειξάμενον διὰ τῆς νεότητος τελείου πρὸς πάντα ἦθη καὶ φύσιν ἀνεπιλή[π]του . . . . . Probably the date is A.D. 135<sup>2</sup>. Artemon (?) showed himself through manhood perfect in all qualities and incomparable in nature. The stone seemed to have ἀνεπίληστος (quoted from Aristainetos as 'never to be forgotten').

### 3. MILESTONES OF SOUTHERN PHRYGIA.

140. (R. 1884 and 1886). Yarashli. Milestone of M'. Aquillius, of the regular series, marked CCXXIII ΣΚΓ. The text of this important inscription (copied also by A. H. Smith) is certain. In CIL III 7177, where it is published, Professor Mommsen quotes my opinion that the miles were reckoned from Pergamos. I at first held that opinion, and wrote so to him, because Ephesos was less than 223 miles distant. But the analogy

<sup>1</sup> Orkistos passed decrees in the third century, see *Hermes* 1887 p. 311 f. Stratonikaia was made independent by Hadrian, and even after this Thyatira claimed dues from it (as Nakoleia continued to do from Orkistos). The letter of Hadrian ordering that Stratonikaia no longer pay to Thyatira, has been published by M. Radet BCH 1887 p. 111, but is not satisfactorily explained by him. Roman taxes were assessed on the city, and collected by the city. Formerly Stratonikaia paid to Thyatira its proportion of the assessments levied by Rome on Thyatira. Being now a *polis*, it ought to be assessed directly, and yet Thyatira claimed dues, and the

case was decided against Thyatira by Hadrian in this rescript. Claudius Socrates (a citizen of Thyatira BCH 1887 p. 102) possessed a house in Stratonikaia; and apparently he refused to keep it in repair or to allow the Stratoniceans to take possession of it. Hadrian ordered him either to keep it up at his own cost, or to give it to some citizen of Stratonikaia. Prof. Mommsen approves in general of the explanation which I suggest of the difficult inscription of Stratonikaia.

<sup>2</sup> The Cibyatic era (235 A.D.) could not be employed at Takina; moreover this inscription is earlier than 235.



of so many other milestones of Aquillius, with numbers reckoned from Ephesos (even on one near Pergamos), makes it necessary to suppose that this distance also was reckoned in that way. Moreover, I find by measurements made as minutely and carefully as I can, that the actual distance from Ephesos counted around by Apameia agrees better with 223 than does the distance from Pergamos<sup>1</sup>. Again, Aquillius would have no conceivable reason to carry a road from Pergamos down to this obscure frontier village and let it end there, and it had to end there, because he could not go outside his province. Nor is this village near any great route, except on the supposition given in the text § 6<sup>2</sup>.

The other milestones of Southern Phrygia may conveniently be noticed here. At Ilias there are three, CIL III 7174-6, one dated 308-12, a second later than the death of Constantine (337), the third (found on the ancient site) probably of the third century.

141. (R. 1884). Hedja. τοῖς θεῶν [ἐνφανεστάτοις] (Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Julia Augusta *mater castrensis*) [ἀπ]ὸ Κιβύρας M. K. The number of miles is very doubtful, but K accords fairly with the actual distance. Two milestones of the same series are found in the Indos valley (the second east from Cibyra BCH 1878 p. 597, and no. 142), and one beside lake Askania no. 143.

142. (R. 1844). Tcham-Keui, six hours from Cibyra on the road to Themisonion. τοῖς θεῶν [ἐνφανεστάτοις] (Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Julia) [ἀπ]ὸ Κιβύρας M . .].

143. (R. 1884: A. H. S. 48). Yarik-Keui<sup>3</sup>. [τοῖς θεῶν ἐνφανεστάτοις] (Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Julia). No traces remain to show how the distance was stated, whether from Cibyra or any other *caput viarum*. In these four milestones the name of Geta is erased along with part of the accompanying epithet, hitherto undeciphered, . . . ω τῶν μεγάλων βασιλέων (perhaps [υἱ]ῶ?), which indicates that he was not yet Augustus. The date is 199-209 A.D.

144. (R. 1884: A. H. Smith no. 2: BCH 1889 p. 341 more correctly). Kara-Eyük-Bazar. Marked with distance A, milestone of Diocletian, Maximian, and the two Caesars.

<sup>1</sup> I need not spend time in printing the whole calculations. Any one who doubts can verify for himself on Kiepert's latest map.

<sup>2</sup> The opinion here stated was given also in my ASP, *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1886.

<sup>3</sup> Other milestones of this class may hereafter be found. Those at Elyes are later; but a dedication to Severus and Julia Domna has been copied there, no. 148, and one to Severus, Caracalla, Geta, and Julia at Takina, no. 138.



From these stones we can determine the stages in the road-system : (1) Manius Aquillius in 129 B.C. built a road Apameia-Kilij-Ilias-Takina (-Keretapa?) to defend the Asian frontier. (2) Augustus in B.C. 6 built a 'Royal Road' connecting his series of Pisidian colonies; one led from Antioch by Apollonia XLVII<sup>1</sup> to Kilij 65, Ilias 76<sup>2</sup>, Komama CXXII (CIL III 6974). He must have put this entire military road under the military authority, which involved the transference of Kilij and Ilias to province Galatia; it is highly probable that both places were originally mere dependencies of Apameia. They remained in Galatia till 74, and were then probably incorporated in province Pamphylia. (3) Severus, between 198 and 209 A.D., constructed or rebuilt a series of roads, radiating from Cibyra as centre (*caput viarum*) northward to Themisonion, and eastward through the Ormelian country and past Lysinia at least as far as the S.W. end of lake Askania. This system of roads extended over two provinces, for 143 was found at Yarik-Keui in Sagalassian territory; and Lysinia, a city of Pamphylia, lies on the line between Yarik-Keui and Cibyra. But their purpose was not military, like Augustus's roads from Antioch to the other Pisidian colonies. Pisidia had long been completely pacified and romanized; and the roads were intended for the development of the country<sup>3</sup>. On 'Royal Road,' see *Ch. in R. Emp.* p. 32.

## APPENDIX IV.

### INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ASKANIAN COASTS.

#### 1. MAXIMIANOPOLIS.

145. (R. 1886). ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων Καλλικλέους β' Διονυσίου καὶ Τάμωνος Κόνωνος καὶ Εὐκλέους Καλλικλέους. This text is published BCH 1887 p. 220, and attributed to Burdur<sup>4</sup>, with the words right but arranged in eight lines (instead of six); and the copyist (a Greek of Buldur) adds a ninth line Κ · Δ · Τ · Κ · Κ · of which I saw no

<sup>1</sup> The exact distance is given by CIL III 6965 (marked XVIII from Apollonia, and XXIX [from Antioch]): the Peutinger Table has XLII.

<sup>2</sup> For brevity I assume this very uncertain identification.

<sup>3</sup> Severus was a great road-maker in Asia Minor; one important Isaurian road at least (Corycos to Olba and probably Laranda) was constructed by

him in 197; and the military road, Melitene to Komana (and probably Caesareia) was probably built by him in 198. His milestones and those of later emperors are exceedingly common; but none earlier are found, Hogarth-Munro in *Supplem. Papers of R. G. S.* 1893.

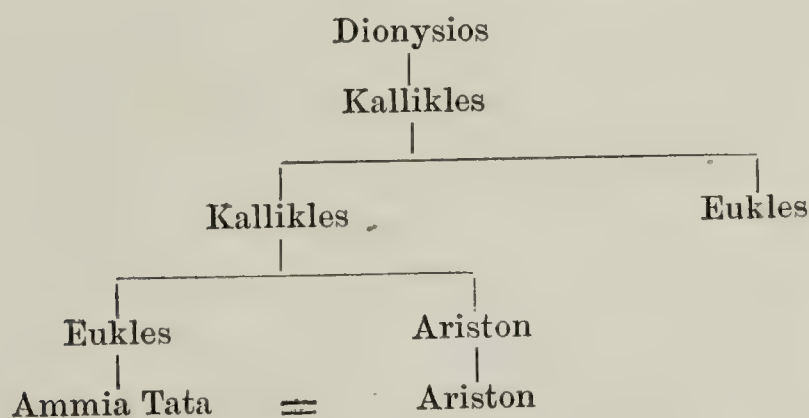
<sup>4</sup> Yet M. Duchesne published it in BCH 1879 p. 482, rightly attributing it to Ilias.



trace. Eukles was brother of Kallikles. The family is mentioned in the following two inscriptions.

146. (R. 1886: Sterrett 612 with slight difference). ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Ἀμμίαν Εὐκλέους τὴν καὶ Τάταν, γυναῖκα Ἀρίστωνος β' το[υ] Καλλικλέους, φιλόπατριν καὶ θυγατέρα πόλεως, πολλὰ παρεσχημένην τῇ πατρίδι σὺν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς [συ]ναυξήσασαν τὴν πόλιν, ἐπιδοῦσαν σειτωνικὰ καὶ ἀγορανομικὰ χρήματα, σωφροσύνης τε καὶ φιλανδρίας ἕνεκεν.

147. (R. 1886: Sterrett 615 differently). [Ἀρίστων β' τοῦ Καλλικλέους καὶ Ἀμμία Εὐκ]λέους ἡ καὶ Τάτα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ [περικείμενα ἐργαστήρια? κατεσκεύασαν καὶ] καθιέρωσαν<sup>1</sup>. Ariston is not to be understood as son of Kallikles δῖς, for the formula means Ἀρίστων Ἀρίστωνος Καλλικλέους. Then we have the probable *stemma*



148. (R. 1886: Sterrett 613).

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λ. Σεπτίμιον

Σεουήρον Εὐσεβῆ Περτίνακα Σεβαστόν

Ἰουλίαν Δόμναν Σεβασ[τήν]  
μητέρα κάστρων

τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότας Μ. Αἰμίλιος Λόνγος εὐσεβεία[s] ἕνεκεν. This Aemilius Longus also founded a festival with athletic contests; and the following was engraved during his life-time at the first celebration.

149. (R. 1886: Sterrett 619). Ἀντωνεῖνον Μεννέου νεικήσαντα ἀνδρῶν πάλην θέμιδος Λουγιλλήας ἀπὸ χρημάτων Μ. Αἰμιλίου Λόνγου πρώτης ἀχθείσης τοῦ καὶ ἀγωνοθετοῦντος διὰ βίου.

150. (R. 1886: Sterrett 621, with some differences). [—] ἐν Λαωδικίᾳ ἐπὶ σχωλῇ καὶ ἐαυτῷ καὶ Φ(λαβία) Εὐποσίῳ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Τ. Φ(λαβίῳ) Οὐάλεντι καὶ Φ(λαβία) Τατία τοῖς τέκνοις ζῶσιν ἐποίησεν ἐν ἰδίῳ κηποτάφῳ.

This is evidently a fourth-century inscription. It is doubtful what kind of *schola* (σχολή) at Laodiceia is meant, or whether any political connexion of the city at Ilias with Laodiceia is implied. Perhaps the

<sup>1</sup> Sterrett reads I before καθιέρωσαν, which seems to require this restoration before it (given by him).



word has the military sense here. The inscription probably belongs to the fourth century.

151. (R. 1886<sup>1</sup>: Sterrett 620). *Αὐτοκράτορα [Ν]ερού[α]ν Τρα[ια]νὸν Καίσαρ[α] Σεβαστὸν Γερ[μ]ανικὸν Δα[κ]ικὸν Φλαου[ία] Τατ[ί]α κ[α]τὰ [δ]ιαθ[ή]κην διὰ Φλαου[ί]ου Οὐ[ρ]βαν[ο]ῦ κλ[η]ρον[ό]μου.* This Flavia Tatia lived about A.D. 100, and is not the Flavia Tatia of the last inscription.

The three milestones of Ilias contain little of interest. One shows that the city had a senate and *demos* under Constantine II. Another gives the distance A from the city CIL III 7174-6). There is also a bilingual dedication, Victoriae Augustae, by Valerius Longus, centurion (CIL III 7057); and epitaphs of Pammenes, son of Silvanus, and of Marcus, a potter (St. 614, 609).

## 2. BINDA.

152. (R. 1886). Kilij. *[Αὐρ. Ἀ]ννιανὸς Ἀννίου ζῶν φρονῶν [κατε]σκέυασεν τὸ ἡρώον ἐαυτῷ τε [καὶ τῇ] γυνεὲ ἀυτοῦ Αὐρ. Ἀντωνία Μάρκου [κὲ τοῦ]ς τέκνοις Αὐρ. Ἀννιανῷ Καλλι[μ]όρφῳ καὶ τῆς (!) γυνεὲ ἀυτοῦ Αὐρ. Νιάρνη Μεγά[ν]δρου] κὲ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν . τίς ἂν δὲ θ[ή]σει ἄλλον, ἀποδώσει] τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ (δην.) ρ.* The fine, 100,000 denarii, is large, though not unexampled: should we read β? For Νιάρνη, perhaps read Μάρνη. Kallimorphos is mentioned in the following inscription, where he is called a citizen of Baris. His family therefore must have belonged to Baris also; and in no. 157 we find a woman of Sagalassos. The presence of these persons from other towns is in favour of the view we have taken that Kilij was not the site of a self-governing *polis*, but the centre of a group of *coloni*. If our view is right, the inscriptions give a presumption that citizens came from other cities to be *coloni*<sup>2</sup>. The name Annius may be due to M. Annius Afrinus, governor of Galatia under Claudius (no. 165).

153. (R. 1886: Sterrett *W. E.* 600 differently). Kilij. *Αὐρ. Ἀννιανὸς Καλλίμορφος Βαρηνὸς νεικήσας πάλην Πυθικῶν ἐνδόξως θέμιδος ἐ' Τειμοθεα[ν]ῆς ἀγωνοθετοῦντος καὶ προκαθεζομένου διὰ βίου καὶ γένους Κλ(αυδίου) Τρεβωνιανοῦ.* Kallimorphos of Baris won in wrestling according to the rules of the Pythian games at the fifth celebration of the festival founded by Timotheos, who is mentioned in the following inscriptions.

154. (R. 1886). *[τὴν ἀνάσ]τασιν [τοῦ] ἀνδριάντος ἐποίη[σεν Αὐρ. Φοντε]ῖος*

<sup>1</sup> The stone is broken vertically into three pieces: one was lost in 1886, but I have been able to improve the text in

two points.

<sup>2</sup> We have already seen natives of Cibyra settled on the Ormelian estates.



Τ[ειμ]όθεος [υἱὸς Γαίου Ἰούστου φιλό]πατρὶς φιλότεκνος κτίστης [ὁ] πατὴρ αὐτοῦ. I thought that φιλότεκνος was certain, not φιλότειμος.

155. (R. 1886: Sterrett 601). Αὐρ. Φοντεῖον Τιμόθεον, υἱὸν Γαίου Ἰούστου, φιλόπατριν, φιλότειμον, κτίστην, ἀγωνοθέτην διὰ βίου καὶ γένους, πάσας ἀρχὰς καὶ λειτουργίας ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Καπίτωνος τελέσαντα, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν καιροῖς ἀεὶ χρησιμεύοντα τῇ πατρίδι.

156. (R. 1886). [τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένης τ]ῆς [γυναικ]ὸς αὐτοῦ Α[ὐρ.] Φοντείας Σερουηνίας. The statue seems to have been dedicated to Timotheos by his wife.

157. Sterrett 603. Αὐρ. Εὐσταθία Τ . . . . Σαγαλασσίς κατεσκεύασεν τὸ ἡρώον, κ.τ.λ. This and no. 153 show intercourse with Baris and Sagalassos. Eustathia can hardly be taken as merely a woman from Sagalassos married to a native of Binda; for she would naturally pass into her husband's state. She belongs to a Sagalassian family settled as *coloni* on the estate; and we may fairly assume that the family belonged to the east coast of lake Askania, perhaps coming from Burdur which was part of Sagalassos.

158. Sterrett 607. Τιβ. [ ——— ] φιλόπατρὶς [ιερασά]μενος Ἀδριανοῦ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀνέθηκεν. Sterrett alters his reading to Ἀδριανό[ν]. There was evidently a cultus of Hadrian at Ouinda. Compare the dedication of Herakles no. 185.

159. Sterrett 606. [ ——— ] υ Γ. Ἐρέννιος Τειμόθεος φιλόπατρὶς καὶ φιλό-τε[ιμος τὸν ναὸν? σ]ὺν τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν κόσμῳ παντὶ ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀναλωμάτων κατεσκεύασε.

Sterrett also publishes epitaphs of Aur. Akylas and Aur. Teimotheos sons of Teimotheos, of Loukkios son of Loukkios, and Tatia daughter of Teimotheos, and of Αὐρ. Μ. . ανιος δὲς τοῦ Μενεκράτο[υς].

160. (R. 1886). Kiliĵ. Τατὶς Τατίδος ἡ καὶ Ζωσίμη ἐποίησεν τὸ μνημῖον.

161. (R. 1886). Kiliĵ. Αὐρ. Ἡρακλιδ[ιαν]ὸς Ἀπολλωνίου κατεσκεύασ[εν τὸ ἡ]ρώον αὐτῷ] ———

162. (R. 1886). Kiliĵ. Αὐρ. Χρηστὸς Χρηστοῦ ἐποίησεν ἡρώον ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀναλωμάτων ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Αὐρ. Ἀμμία Ἀρτέμωνος κὲ τοῖς υἱοῖς ἑαυτῶν εἰς ὃν τόπον ἡγόρασεν. The last four words are added in different characters as an afterthought.

163. (R. 1886). Kiliĵ. Αὐρήλ. Βαρβαριανὸς Τειμόθεος ζῶν κατεσκεύασεν



τὸ εἰσενεκτὸν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς γονεῖσι Γλαύκῳ Β[α]ρβάρου καὶ Ἀμμία <Μενε>-  
κράτους καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ Μενεκράτει καὶ <Καρι>κῷ· εἰ δέ τις ἕτερον  
<κηδεύσει>, θήσει εἰς τὰ τα[μεῖα] δην. . . .]. The engraver has omitted  
several syllables or words: I suggest Καρι in one case as omitted through  
analogy with καί.

(164. (R. 1882). Near Baradis. Finis Caesaris N.)

### 3. REGESALAMARA.

165. (R. 1884 and 1886). Deuer (five miles S.S.E. from lake Askania).  
ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ Γερμανι[κοῦ] Καίσαρος, Κοίντος Πετρώ-  
νιος Οὐμβ[ερ] πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος  
Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, καὶ Λούκιος Πούπιος Πραίσηνς ἐπίτροπος Νέρωνος  
Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ, ὠροθέτησαν τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶναι  
Σαγαλασσέων, τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κώμης Τυμβριανασσοῦ Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου  
Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ. Petronius UMBER is otherwise unknown.  
He was in office about 54, for L. Pupius Praesens was already procurator  
under Claudius CIG 3991 (Iconium); and he probably succeeded  
M. Annius Afrinus, who is known from coins of Pessinus and Iconium,  
and from an inscription of Isauria (CIL III 288, read Afri[[ca]]nus), as  
governor of Galatia under Claudius. See M. Babelon *Mél. Numism.* I  
p. 60. Nero's name is once erased here, see *Addenda*.

166. (R. 1886). Yazı-Keui. Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀντων-  
νεῖ[νῳ] Σεβαστῷ Ἀρμενι[ακῷ] καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λουκίῳ Αὐρηλίῳ  
[Οὐ]νήρῳ Σεβαστῷ Ἀρμενι[ακῷ] ἢ Σαγαλασσέων πόλις. This dedication is to  
be compared with the following.

167. (R. 1884: A. H. Smith 11). Deuer. (To the emperors Diocle-  
tian and Maximian, and the Caesars Constantius and Galerius) ἡ λαμπρὰ  
Σαγαλασσ[έ]ων πόλις. These three inscriptions prove that this territory  
was Sagalassian, and that the southern part of the lake-region was  
divided between Sagalassos and an imperial estate.

168. (R. 1886). Yazı-Keui. Πόπλιος Σεύθου τὸν βωμὸν ἐποίησεν  
Κρατερῷ ἀδελφῷ μνήμης χάριν. The Thracian names Seuthes, Kotes  
(no. 174) are noteworthy. Was a settlement of Thracian mercenaries  
made on lake Askania in the Pergamenian period?

169. (R. 1886). Yazı-Keui. Τερμίλας Κρατεροῦ τὸν βωμὸν ἐποίησεν  
τῇ γυναικὶ μνήμης χάριν.

170. (R. 1884). Yarı-Keui. Κλ. Πελαγία· τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ μνημείου



πρόνοιαν ποιησαμένου Καλλικλέους δῖς, τοῦ γενομένου ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup>. The name Kallikles is remarkably common round lake Askania.

## 4. LIMNOBRIA.

171. (R. 1886). Eski-Yere, beside Burdur: on a large altar with defaced reliefs. [—] καθιέρωσεν τῷ τριτεύματι<sup>2</sup>. The word *τρίτευμα*, unknown to Stephanus, must mean a group of three (from *τριτεύω*, *tertius sum*). It denotes evidently a triad of gods, probably that triad which might be hellenized as Leto, Apollo, and Artemis, but which in Phrygian is the mother-goddess in her double aspect, mother and daughter, accompanied by Sabazios-Lairbenos: the triad in another aspect is hellenized as Demeter, Pluto, and Kora.

172. (R. 1886: BCH 1879 p. 334). Burdur. [Τιμό?]θεος μετὰ τῶν ἀνεψιῶν κατὰ κέλειςιν τῶν θεῶν εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν. Relief, radiated head of sun-god.

173. (R. 1886). Burdur. Μητρὶ θεῶν. Relief defaced. Κοτῆς Καλλικλέους ἐκ τῶν ιδίων ἀνέθηκεν<sup>3</sup>.

174. (R. 1886). Burdur. Τροῖλος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. Κόμων Βιάνορος ἡργάσεται<sup>4</sup>.

175. (R. 1886). Burdur. Σόλων Σόλωνος ΤΙΡΑΞΙΟΣ<sup>5</sup> ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἀννα τῇ γυναικὶ μόνον. The name Anna here seems to be a modification of Ena, which is so common in this country (no. 91); is it under Christian influence?

176. BCH 1879 p. 334. Burdur. Μηνογάς Τροφίμου Μηνὶ εὐχὴν.

177. (R. 1886: BCH 1879 p. 337). Ῥόδων Ἀντιόχου Ἑρμογὰ ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Βαβεί τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις. Menogas and Hermogas are abbreviations of Menogenes and Hermogenes.

178. BCH 1879 p. 335. Burdur. Μεννέας Ἀρτεμιδώρου ἱερεὺς Διὶ

<sup>1</sup> Published CIG 3956f (from the faulty copy of Arundel); Davis *Anatolica* text right); and BCH 1879 p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> The stone is blurred, ΤΡΙΤ and ΤΡΙΓ both possible; but the text can hardly be doubted.

<sup>3</sup> BCH 1879 p. 339.

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<sup>4</sup> BCH 1879 p. 337.

<sup>5</sup> These letters not certain; perhaps ΓΕ or ΤΕ (as in BCH 1879 p. 339); should we read γερα[ε]ῖος, member of the γερουσία? Several Christian inscriptions of Eumeneia mention a γεραιός.



Πότει τὸν [β]ωμὸν ἀνέστησεν, with reliefs of bucranium, grapes, &c. The editors properly compare Ζεὺς Πότης of Dionysopolis, but wrongly follow De Witte and Lenormant in altering the reading of the coins to Ποτεύς, Ch. IV § 4.

179. (R. 1886). Burdur. Ἰππόστρατος καὶ Καλλικλῆς καὶ Νέων<sup>1</sup> οἱ Ἀχιλλέως Ἀντιόχου τὸ μνήμα ἀνέθηκαν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ αὐτοῖς.

180. (R. 1886). Kishla. Δημήτριος καὶ Τιόλαμος οἱ Κόμωνος ἀνέστησαν (BCH 1887 p. 221).

181. (R. 1886). Eski-Yere. Γάϊος Ἰούνιος Ἰοῦστος οὐετρανὸς κατὰ διαθήκην<sup>2</sup>.

182. (R. 1886). Lengeumeu<sup>3</sup>. Αὐρ. Ναῖς θυγάτηρ Τροίλου Ῥόδωνος, γυνὴ δὲ γενομένη Ἀντιόχου Νέωνος Ἀντιόχου Μαγᾶ εἰαρέως, ζῶσα ἑαυτῇ τὴν σορὸν κατεσκ[εύασε]. Nais is a grecized form of the common native name Na nos. 91, 175.

183. (R. 1886). Lengeumeu. Γάϊος Πουπίλιος Οὐάλ[η]ς ἐποίησεν Ἀπόλλωνι εὐ[χ]ήν· προσκυνητήρα καὶ τρ[ά]πεζαν καὶ κρατῆρ(α) ἀνέσ[τησεν]<sup>4</sup>.

184. BCH 1879 p. 338, very imperfectly. Burdur<sup>5</sup>. [Αὐρ. ?] Μίδας δις Σώ[σο]ν ζῶν ἑαυτῷ [κ]αὶ Νᾶ τῇ [γ]υ[ναι]κὶ καὶ Σώσῳ καὶ Ῥόδωνι καὶ Β— τοῖς υἱοῖς.

Some other epitaphs of no interest are published in the places quoted<sup>6</sup>.

185. (R. 1884 : A. H. S. 10). Bereket, between Burdur and Kormasa. Ἡρακλῆς κώμης Μοατρέων· διὰ ἐπιμελητῶν Μάνου Τατᾶ καὶ Ἀττάλου Ἀπολλωνίου· καὶ Τροῖλος Ἀρνέστου Τυδέως ἡργάσετο.

186. (R. 1886). Lengeumeu. Ἀντίοχος Σώσου ζῶν ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς γονεῶσιν (sic !). Τρωῖλος Τυδέ[ω]ς Ἀρνέστου εἰργάσετο. The artist

<sup>1</sup> The stone has Νεωνο οἱ. M. Collignon BCH 1879 p. 338 reads ο[ι υἱ]οἱ (not from his own copy), but this certainly was never engraved.

<sup>2</sup> Attributed to Ilias by M. Duchesne BCH 1879 p. 482 (not from his own copy). Republished BCH 1887 p. 222, as from Tsikin.

<sup>3</sup> Lengeumeu, some miles east of Burdur, was probably another *kome* of Sagalassos.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps κρατῆραν ἔστησεν. This inscription (with slight differences) is given by M. Duchesne BCH 1879 p. 482 (not from his own copy), and is attributed to Ilias. There is no room for Οὐάλ[έρι]ος.

<sup>5</sup> The editors took it from a bad copy (not their own), which can be better restored. Perhaps the first name should be [Τερ]μί[λ]ας.

<sup>6</sup> Also by Sterrett E. J. 85, 86.



in the one case seems to be the uncle of the other. There was therefore at Buldur a family of stone-cutters, who supplied the district round ; we may therefore take it to have been an important centre for the lake-country (just as we found that Alastos sent an artist to Kolbasa, no. 189).

## 5. KORMASA.

187. (R. 1884). Geulde. Ἑρμῆς Λουκίου [τ]ῇ α[ί]αο[τ]οῦ<sup>1</sup> γυναικὶ κὲ Ἑρμῇ ὑφ' ἐμοίρῳ ἀνέστησε μνήμης χάριν· εἰ μὲν ἰδίᾳ μοίρῃ, ὤφιλεν, εἰ δὲ χερ[σ]ὶ δωλοποίοις (sic!), Ἥλιε, βλέπε. Geulde is a tchiflik, close to Giaour-Euren, the site of Kolbasa.

188. (R. 1884: A. H. Smith 43). Giaour-Euren. Μένανδρος Τρωίλου Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρῃ εὐχὴν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκε. This is the dedication of a heroön, which here takes the form of a dedication to the gods of the world of death (θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι), with whom the dead in the tombs are conceived as identified. The dead have returned to their mother, the supreme goddess. The names and the form are grecized ; and hence the mother-goddess is omitted. But there is every probability that the divine triad of no. 177 represents the full Phrygian idea which here appears as a dyad. *Addend.* 24.

Five other epitaphs of Kolbasa copied by us in 1884, see A. H. Smith 44, 45 and ASP p. 45. They contain the names Amma and Ma, Olla, Termilas, Menneas, Attalos, Solon, Mamas, Rodon, Menandros, Κόλαινος (nom. or gen. ?), &c.

189. (R. 1884). At Giaour-Euren. Νέων Κόμωνος . . . μόλου καὶ Ἀρμαν τ[ῇ]ν γυναιῖκα αὐτοῦ καὶ [αὐτὸν] ζῶν· ἀνέστησαν τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν μνήμης ἕνεκεν<sup>2</sup>. Κόμων Ἀλαστέος ἡργάσετο.

The first καὶ seems to be a mistake of the engraver. Omit it or transpose it after ζῶν and the sense is 'Neon (set up) his wife and himself in his lifetime ; and their children set up (the same persons).'

Ἀλαστέος seems to be a provincialism for Ἀλαστεύς, compare σκυτέος for σκυτεύς in St. 41 A 20 (see p. 314). When coupled with the artist's name, the word must be taken in this sense and not as a peculiar gen. of an otherwise unknown personal name Alastes.

190-195 are placed at the end of Ch. VIII App. I.

<sup>1</sup> My copy has ΓΗΑΛΟΠΟΥ, and the correction is uncertain. The letters are faint and barely legible.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps [Ἀγχι]μόλου, a Homeric

name ; names taken from Epic poetry or legend are not rare, Tydeus 186, Laomedon and Iphianassa 34, Achilles 179, Idomeneus 59, Midas 99, 184, &c.



## APPENDIX V.

### BISHOPS OF KERETAPA, VALENTIA, AND THE KILLANIAN AND ASKANIAN DISTRICTS.

#### 1. KERETAPA.

Theodoulos died; Carterius, who was put in his place by the Eunomians, died soon after; then Joannes succeeded.

Philostorg. HE VIII 2, IX 18, Socr. HE II 40. 359 A. D.

Silvanus 431.

Philetas 451.

Andreas Ἀερυγάπων, rightly corrected Κερετάπων by Le Quien, 692.

Michael Χαιρετόπων 787.

Constantine 869.

Symeon Χαιρετόπων 879.

#### 2. VALENTIA, see Ch. VII.

#### 3. MAXIMIANOPOLIS, LYSINIA, PALAIAPOLIS, HADRIANA.

Patricius Maximianopolitanus 325.

Apagamius (l. Apragmonius) Lisiniensis 325.

Libanius Palaeopolis 431.

? Eugenius de Lisnia

Diodolus (Θεόδοτος) πόλεως Λυσιναίων (Lysimachorum) 451.

Theosebius Maximianopolis 458.

Porphyrius Palaeopolis 458.

Miccus Adrianopolis 458.

Tryphon τῆς Κολβασέων πόλεως 536.

Joannes Ἀδριανῆς 692.

Constantinus (Κώνστας) Ἀδριανῆς 787.

(? Sophronius Ἀδριανουπόλεως ? 879?).



## A D D E N D A

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1. Page 11 note 3. In 190 B.C. the Lycos valley passed from Seleucid under Pergamenian rule; and in 133 it was bequeathed by Attalus III to Rome. The country traversed by the road Laodiceia-Apameia-Takina belonged to Rome in 130 (no. 140). In 129 Aquillius sold Phrygia Magna to Mithridates V; and the Colossian glen with Apameia and the rest of Phrygia was ruled by him till his death in 120, when the country was declared free by the Romans. The bounds of the province are hard to fix; but probably the Carian Laodiceia, the Lydian Hierapolis, and the Kazanes valley, were Roman from 133 to 56 B.C. In 84 Sulla incorporated most of Phrygia in the province Asia, and arranged the *dioeceseis* or *conventus*, assigning Laodiceia, Hierapolis, and Colossai to the Cibyratic. In 80 the Apamean and Synnadic *conventus* were attached to Cilicia Provincia (as was also the *conventus* of Philomelion and the Roman portion of Lycaonia and Isauria), while in 62-61 (perhaps 62-56) they formed part of Asia Provincia; in 56-51 the Apamean, Synnadic, and Cibyratic (Laodicean) *conventus* were attached to Cilicia; Julius Caesar rejoined them to Asia; and this last arrangement was maintained till about 295 A.D. There is no evidence for the fate of the Philomelian *conventus* except that it must have been attached to Cilicia at all times when the Synnadic was so, and that it was connected with Asia probably from the time of Julius Caesar onwards. On the reason why part of Phrygia was connected with Cilicia, see p. 11.

2. P. 19 n. 1. A similar derivation has occurred to Dr. Tomaschek p. 101; but he takes the first part differently Šehirâbâd, i.e. Sheher-Abad, 'place of the city,' which seems to me less probable. I fully grant that Dr. Tomaschek knows much more about the literary language of Turkey than I do; but in this case the important point is the character of the Anatolian peasants' pronunciation and the way in which a word pronounced by them would be reproduced by the Asian Greeks.

3. P. 33 n. 2. Another example of a name from the east used in Lydia is Tiamou, a surname of Men. Prof. J. H. Wright of Harvard points out to me that Tiammu is given by the late George Smith as a Babylonian god; and if this name is confirmed by recent scholars,



its identity with Tiamou in Asia Minor is striking. I find however Tiamat, the goddess, but not Tiammu, in Jensen *Cosmologie der Babylonier*. But Tuamu, the zodiacal sign Gemini, seems to play a considerable part in the Cosmology of the Babylonians. Can Men-Tiamou be 'the Sun in the sign Gemini'? It is argued in Ch. VIII § 9, no. 95, no. 194, Ch. IX § 5, &c., that Men is more closely connected with the Sun than with the Moon. Whatever be the exact facts as settled by oriental scholars, it seems highly probable that Men-Tiamou is a god of the oriental colonists in the Katakekaumene.

Another Central Asian title in eastern Lydia is the Θεὰ Ματυνηνὴ ἐπιφανής in an inscription at Philadelphieia *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 p. 256. Whether the name of the goddess is derived from a village of the Katakekaumene, or is an epithet denoting origin, we can hardly fail to connect it with Matiane in Cappadocia (*Hist. Geogr.* p. 295 and Herod. I 72) and Matiana in Media (Reinach *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1894 p. 313).

4. P. 37 § 3. I am indebted to Rev. H. Thurston, S.J., for the following quaint passage from the *Acta S. Abercii* as given in the unpublished MS. Paris 1540. οὐ δὴπου δὲ ἐπαινοῦμεν Ἀριδέον τὸν χολὸν τὸν περιστάμενον συντόμον ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, μὴ κατασκάψαντα καὶ ἐρημώσαντα τὴν Λαοδικαίων πόλιν, ἐπειδὴπερ ἐδιώχθη ἐκείθεν, ὡς λέγει, συκοφαντηθεὶς καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ πάντα ἀπολέσας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡδύνατο πένης ὦν καὶ μόνος καὶ τὸ σῶμα κεκολοβωμένος. μισεῖν γὰρ δυνάμενος οὐ παύεται καταρώμενος τὴν πόλιν. This passage occurs in a dialogue between Pollio and S. Abercius on Free Will and similar topics (which is much curtailed, as Mr. Thurston informs me, in the published form of the *Acta*). The dialogue may perhaps turn out to have been modelled on some philosophic treatise of the Diadochic period<sup>1</sup>; and in that case the reference to Ἀριδαῖος is likely to be historical. No person of the name is known to have been in such relations with any city named Laodiceia<sup>2</sup>. The only known Arrhidaios who can be thought of is Alexander's general, who got Hellespontine Phrygia as his share at the division of the empire, and was dispossessed by Antigonos; but it is hardly possible that he could have been living after the foundation of Laodiceia (except on M. Radet's theory as to the earlier foundation of Laodiceia by Antiochus I, see p. 32 n, though even on that theory it is improbable).

5. P. 38 n. 3 and 42 n. 3. Ti. Claudius Telemachus, a Lycian

<sup>1</sup> The Greek of this extract is older in type than the language of *Acta Abercii* as a whole.

<sup>2</sup> I have consulted Prof. O. Crusius, who tells me that he knows no passage

by which the extract can be illustrated, but points out that the attempts made by Arrhidaeus to seize Greek cities (Diodor. XVIII 51) bear some slight resemblance to this allusion.



quaestor, and legate, of Achaia, and a consular, is styled *Oikistes* of Laodiceia and Hierapolis in an inscription (Benndorf *Lykia* I p. 67), perhaps because he had aided them after an earthquake under Antoninus Pius. It is not known that they suffered then, but in *Scr. Hist. Aug. Antonin.* 9, 1<sup>1</sup>, *Asiae oppida* may perhaps include them, as Benndorf suggests; it is, however, quite possible that some benefit or gift given by Telemachus procured him the title. It appears certain that the Asian cities bestowed the title 'Founder' on the givers of certain benefactions or the donors of public buildings (see *Arch. Ep. Mitth. Oest.* VII p. 171, CIG 3495, Benndorf *l. c.*; above p. 246 n. 1).

6. P. 53 n. 3. Buresch *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 p. 117 says, *überhaupt ist es durch* CIG 3902 b, BCH 1886 p. 307, 1887 p. 155 (Eumeneia, Alabauda, Lagina), *&c., sicher, dass schon unter Augustus jede bedeutendere Stadt in Asia ihr Kaisareion hatte* (see Mommsen *Röm. Gesch.* V p. 321, Clere *de rebus Thyatir.* pp. 68 f, 97 f).

7. P. 54 l. 25. Similarly Livia was identified with Hekate (and probably her son Tiberius with Zeus Larasios) at Tralleis BCH 1886 p. 516 (see Buresch *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 p. 116).

8. P. 67 n. 2. At Stratonicea of Caria there were six archons for the city every year, three for the summer semester, and three for the winter; but the supreme board of magistrates seems to have consisted of four *strategoï*, three for the city and one for the country (of whom the three changed every six months, and probably also the one country archon).

9. P. 76 n. 1. Drs. Hula and Szanto in their recent *Reisebericht* p. 29 (published in *Wiener Sitzungsber.* 1894) publish a short inscription of this common class with an incorrect and incomplete restoration. It should probably be read *μνημα μονομάχων [καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσιῶν τῶν δοθέντων] ὑπὸ Ποπλίου Οὐηδίου Ἀσι[άρχου, υἱοῦ κτλ.* The editors restore Ἀσι[ατικοῦ]; but there can be little doubt that the title Asiarch is required. The family of P. Vedius is known. An inscription of Ephesos mentions a father and son named respectively M. Κλ. Πο. Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Σαβεῖνος and M. Κλ. Πο. Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος Φαιδρὸς Σαβεινιανός (*Smyrn. Mous.* no. 756): these are in all probability the son and grandson of P. Vedius, whose son was evidently born under Antoninus Pius 138–61; the growing complexity of names in this noble family is noteworthy. Cp. the tomb of the gladiators of a highpriest of Temenothyrai BCH 1893 p. 265. See p. 352.

<sup>1</sup> *Terrae motus quo Rhodiorum et Asiae oppida conciderunt, quae omnia mirifice instauravit.* Pausanias VIII 43, 4, men-

tions Cos and Rhodes, but no other cities.



10. P. 78 no. 16. Philemon of Laodiceia<sup>1</sup>, a stone-cutter settled at Limyra (possibly as early as 130 B. C.), is mentioned in his own signature on the wall of a rock-tomb (Benndorf *Lykia* II p. 74). Q. Julius Miletus of Tripolis of Asia was a *marmorarius* at Rome (Kaibel 1092, 1093). But, while many Laodiceans are mentioned in inscriptions of Rome, implying much trading connexion, these persons are hardly ever sculptors or stone-cutters, as the Aphrodisians at Rome usually were; Laodicean connexion with Rome was commercial, Aphrodisian connexion was artistic.

11. P. 79 (19). A seal with the legend

Σῶτερ, σφραγίζοις τοὺς λόγους Βασιλείου,

Λαοδικείας ποιμενάρχου συγκέλλου

has been published by M. Schlumberger *Sigillographie de l'Emp. Byz.* p. 255. He dates it *de l'époque des Comnènes*; and we may therefore assign it to this Bishop. ποιμήν a bishop is common but ποιμέναρχος an archbishop is, according to M. Schlumberger, unique.

12. P. 79 (21) Joannes. A seal (dating in cent. XIII or XIV) is published by M. Schlumberger l. c. p. 254, with legend [ἐμ]ὲ προσκυνούμε(νον) τὸν ἱκ(έτην) σου παρθ(ένε) σκέπ(οις). θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἰωάννῃ μητροπολ(ίτη) Λαοδικείας.

13. P. 82 n. 2. Zahn l. c. says: *das aber hat Ramsay (JHS 1887 p. 468 ff) gegen Duchesne (Rev. Quest. Hist. vol. 34 1883 p. 20) siegreich dargethan, dass die Unterscheidung von Phrygia Magna und Parva, von welcher sich, abgesehen von unserer Vita [Abercii], nur unsichere Spuren finden lassen (Ramsay l. l. p. 471 f), ebenso wie die Unterscheidung von Prima-Secunda, der Zeit angehören muss, ehe die Namen Pacatiana-Salutaris allgemein üblich geworden sind, wie sie es seit Anfang des 5 Jahrhunderts waren.* I have now succeeded in adding one example more of each of these rare terms, *Parva* and *Secunda*, confirming the conclusions already accepted by Zahn.

14. P. 115 no. 18. A name of similar character to L. Aurelia Aemilia occurs in the epitaph τὸ μνημα Αὔλου Αἰμιλίου Αἰλίου (at Miletos) BCH 1894 p. 18 at Palatia. Here also the Roman character is assumed by a Greek, who does not appreciate the propriety of nomenclature. He had got the *civitas*, but did not thoroughly comprehend the Roman system of names.

15. P. 120 (7 A). It is remarkable that Hierapolis should not be

<sup>1</sup> Λαυδικεὺς ἀπὸ Λύκου: the spelling Λαυδίκηια is found in all ages and seems a local vulgarism; it frequently degene-

rates into Λαδίκηια, Turkish Ladik or Ladhik.



represented at the council of Chalcedon A.D. 451, where there was a nearly complete muster of the Phrygian bishops. Now Tatianus of Philippopolis is mentioned as absent, and represented by his metropolitan Nounechios; and Philippopolis was therefore the name applied to some city of Phrygia Pacatiana at that time. But we can have no hesitation in concluding that Hierapolis beyond all the cities of Pacatiana can lay claim to that title; and we have at least one example of the city-name being sunk in favour of that of the patron saint. M. Schlumberger *Sigillographie de l'Emp. Byz.* p. 255 mentions a seal, probably of cent. XI or XII, which he assigns to a metropolitan of Hierapolis, though Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ is the only legend that gives any clue to the name of the city or of the bishop. Probably the bishop and the city here bear the name of the patron saint (see p. 87).

16. P. 133 n. 2. This name Lörbe, whatever be its meaning, seems to occur again as a local name on the Carian coast, where Lôryma or Laryma or Larba (see table facing p. 422 of *Hist. Geogr.*) forms a good parallel to Lurmenos or Lermenos or Larbenos. On the correspondence of *m* and *b*, compare no. 69 p. 348, Schmidt *Neue Lyk. Stud.* p. 139.

17. P. 138. Dr. Josef Zingerle, in a paper containing some excellent suggestions about Asian inscriptions, *Philologus* LIII 1894 p. 350, objects to my interpretation of the inscription no. 43, on the ground that ἄθυτον proves that the goat was not sacrificed, whereas my view is that the goat was sacrificed but not eaten. But I interpret ἄθυτον very strictly: it means 'not allowed to be offered as an ordinary sacrifice (θυσία), the flesh of which was eaten<sup>1</sup>.' The person who was chastised had treated the purificatory sacrifice (whose flesh must be given wholly to the god, and not shared in by the worshipper) as if it had been an ordinary sacrifice, offering up the part of the flesh which was set apart for the priests and for the gods, and eating the rest at the sacrificial feast; but in such a sacrifice (θυσία) it was not right to slay and eat a goat: the goat was ἄθυτος.

Dr. Zingerle takes ἄθυτον as a false form for ἄδυτον, and ἐσθειν from ἐσθέω, 'I give warning that no one should rush into the holy inner sanctuary where the goat is slain in sacrifice.' This Adyton he considers to have been a separate place set apart for blood-offerings<sup>2</sup>, such as that at Idalion (*Archaeolog. Anzeiger* 1889 p. 144), or the large back-chamber<sup>3</sup> built on the west side of the Macedonian temple in the sanctuary of the

<sup>1</sup> ἄθυτος unsacrificeable, cp. *invictus* invincible, *indomitus* untamable, ἄθικτος incorruptible.

<sup>2</sup> Einen von der eigentlichen Cultstätte

gesonderten Raum zur Darbringung der blutigen Opfer p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> Hintergemach mit Opfergruben.



Kabeiroi at Thebes, which is considered by Dörpfeld to have been without a roof (*Ath. Mitth.* XIII pp. 91 and 95).

I think this explanation is improbable both on grounds of *cultus* and religion and also for reasons of language: the sense attributed to *αἰγοτόμιον* is very forced; and I do not remember the form *ēs*, but only *is* or *eis*, in Phrygian inscriptions.

18. P. 199 § 5. Kallataba must not be placed too much to S.E. from Ine-göl and the low plain of the Kogamis, for Hamilton II 374 points out that the tamarisk tree does not grow in the mountain passes to the south-east of Ine-Göl, though it is abundant about that village. Hamilton's road led him past Baharlar, where M. Radet places Kallataba; and, assuming for the time the correctness of M. Radet's restoration (which, as is pointed out by himself, is doubtful), we should modify his view so far as to say that Kallataba was in the open plain, and that the Katoikoi were planted in the S.E. part of the territory subject to it about Baharlar.

19. P. 215. At the present day the little stream that rises in several copious springs more than a mile north of the Lycos, falls into the main river close to the ridge through which the river-gorge is cleft. But it has not always taken this course. When Hamilton explored the place, this stream flowed in a more easterly course, joining the Lycos in several channels above and below the little bridge by which the road that comes down from Khonai crosses the river, whereas now the confluence is below the bridge. With his invariable carefulness and accuracy, Hamilton II p. 511 remarks that the stream must have changed its course, since the channel by which it must have at some former time joined the Lycos lower down (i. e. further west) could be distinctly traced. Since Hamilton's time the stream has recurred to an old course which it had temporarily deserted<sup>1</sup>. M. G. Weber, in his otherwise excellent paper *der unterird. Lauf des Lykos* in *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 197, has therefore erred when he finds fault with Hamilton on this point, and says '*sein Lauf hat sich nie geändert, wie es Hamilton annimmt.*'

20. P. 225 l. 2. While I cannot here discuss the subject, which belongs to the country further east, I must say that Tomaschek has convinced me that I erred in placing Myriokephalon and the Tzyvritzi Kleisoura in the pass that leads from Khoma eastwards. Myriokephalon lies much further to the east, as is obvious from several of the narratives which were not accessible to me when writing either my *Historical*

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton's expression about 'the narrowest part' of the gorge, p. 511, must however be understood with refer-

ence to his incomplete exploration, for it is not absolutely true of the whole gorge.



*Geography* or an older paper on the subject. While Tomaschek has here been more accurate than I, he has advanced a view which is, in my opinion, untenable. The pass where Manuel was defeated lies between the *Limnai* and Gondani, where a narrow gap is flanked by steep rocks on each side. Barbarossa avoided the pass by crossing from the N.E. end of the Limnai to the valley of Kinnaborion.

21. P. 228 n. 4. The village Lampe (or Lampa) has kept its name as Appa to the present day, with the loss of initial L. This observation, which did not occur to me until I was correcting the proof-sheets, proves definitely the correctness of the topographical and historical argument which has led us to place Lampe near Evjiler, not far from the modern Appa. We must now infer that a Mohammedan village grew up a little way from the Christian village, and gradually replaced it, as Christianity gave place to Mohammedanism among the people, but retained the old name, just as Ladhik, the Mohammedan city (now Denizli), replaced the Christian Laodiceia (see p. 303). The name is an interesting one. In Crete it appears in the forms Lampai (Hierocles), Lampa nom. plur. neut. (*Notitiae* VIII, IX), Lampe, and Lappa. With the variation of *mp* and *pp*, compare Olympos, Olympia, found also in the forms Olompia and Olypikos. Leake has rightly observed that Glyppia, Glympia on the borders of Argolis and Lakonia bears the same name (arguing from the survival of the names Lampiáda and Olympo-khória at the present day); and there is general agreement that the name is connected with λάμπω. We must therefore conclude that the Phrygian and Cretan Lampa or Lampe is connected, and that the forms *lamp-* and *lomp-* or *lump-* are related, like many similar pairs of names differentiated by the vocalization *a* and *o*, as quoted on p. 153. Probably the root was strictly *Vlamp*, and such forms as Olympia and Glympia arose in the effort to pronounce the name Vlompia. Lappa-Appa like Lychnidos-Ochrida.

22. P. 266 § 11. On p. 631 Strabo speaks of Termessos as 'overhanging Cibyra.' This statement is so very far wrong, as to make us doubt whether Strabo really made it, even though he had never travelled there, and had only a vague idea of the lie of the country. But his words would become accurate, if a slight and very probable correction of the text is made, viz. *ὑπερκείμενη τῆς Κιβυράτιδος* (instead of *Κιβύρας*). This makes the whole description clear; and agrees with all that is said in the text about the Pamphylian Cibyratis, the Asian Cibyratis, and the Lycian Cibyratis, assuming (as I think should be assumed) that Kabalis or Kabalia is practically equivalent to the Cibyratis.

23. P. 269 n. 4. Masdes is read in older editions of Plutarch, but Dübner has Masses (*de Is. et Osir.* 24 p. 360 B); it is there given as



another name of Manes, an ancient Phrygian king. The name Masses occurs in Plutarch *de Mus.* 7 p. 1133 F, where it is given as another form of Marsyas (or another name for Marsyas). Probably, therefore, there are two words, Masdes *qui et* Manes the Phrygian god identified with the Persian god, and Masses, a dialectic variant of Marsyas, with *s* for *r*. This variation is justified by the Massyan or Marsyan plain in Syria (Strab. p. 753 f, Polyb. V 45, 61); compare Marsi, Massicus Mons, and Marruvium, in Central Italy and Latium. The Marsyas (cp. Mor-synos p. 145) is a frequent name for rivers and heroes in Caria and Phrygia, and its occurrence in Syria would suggest that it goes back to the ancient pre-Phrygian or Hittite period. In the form Masses, it seems to underlie the Lycian Massikytos. The widespread personal name Masas must probably be taken as a *kosenamen* for some compound name of which the first part was Masses. The name Μάσης or Μύσης, an Argive village, must be kept separate from this Asian family. Masaris should probably also be kept separate. Mas-taura (cp. Tauropolis p. 188) is more probably connected with Ma, the goddess.

24. P. 273 (p. 100). The tomb takes the form of a consecration to Hekate Soteira, i. e. the Phrygian mother, giver and preserver of life, assimilated to the Greek Hekate in her aspect as the goddess to whom men return at death; e. g. CIG 3827 q, Wadd. 805 (Kotiaion), where parents consecrated their son to the goddess (κατειέρωσαν Σωτείρη[s] Ἐκάτη), or a wife her deceased husband, see Mordtmann in *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 p. 16. In the latter case the goddess in her double form, native and Greek, is represented by a bust of the Phrygian deity upon the crescent moon, rising over the heads of the triple Hekate. The goddess ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ is found also on coins of Apameia (represented as *Hekate triformis*, see Head *s. v.*). Men Katachthonios guards the grave at Iconium BCH 1886 p. 503.

25. P. 329 l. 10. The Lycaonian form Banba (CIG 4009 b)<sup>1</sup> probably gives a clue to the origin of this group of names. Banba is perhaps connected with the Syrian Mambog or Mabbog or Mabug, Greek Βαμβύκη, the native name of Hierapolis *ad Euphratem*, the modern Membidj. Baubo, a figure in the Eleusinian mysteries, is doubtless the Phrygian Babo (at Ancyra CIG 4142). If these relationships hold good, we have here a name of the old Hittite period remaining in use in the country, and penetrating to Eleusis along with the Phrygian mysteries. With Mambo-g and Banba, compare Ma the great goddess and Ba a Lycaonian name (CIL III 6800).

26. P. 336 no. 165. The name of Nero (Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου) in this

<sup>1</sup> Given as Phrygian also in Schmidt *Neue Lykische Studien* p. 139, CIG 4395.



inscription has been once erased, but twice allowed to stand. In the erasure the words Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ are inserted, which is a rare practice (not noticed by Cagnat *Cours d'Epigr. Latine* p. 164 f). Similarly in two inscriptions found at Ephesos, the name of Domitian has been erased and Θεῷ Καίσαρι and Οὐεσπασιανῷ inserted BM CCCCXCVIII and *Smyrn. Mous.* no. τξζ'. In these publications no notice is taken of the erasure; but in the second, which I have copied at Ephesos, the erasure is distinct and the inserted words are of a different form from the rest of the inscription, while in the first the beginning of the name Domitian is still quite legible. It is quite probable that this custom has been carried out in other cases, where the publications gave no hint of the real character; perhaps it may be the proper explanation of the enigmatic inscription from Sardis published *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 p. 148, where a Roman officer, who was legate of a legion under Titus is stated to have been legate of Cappadocia and Galatia under Vespasian. Now it is not conceivable that an official who was a simple *praetorius* and legionary legate under Titus should have governed the vast and important province of Cappadocia and Galatia under Vespasian. Both natural propriety and several examples prove that the combined province was administered by a *consularis*<sup>1</sup>. In the Sardian inscription therefore we must understand that the officer in question, who was appointed legate of *legio IV Scythica* by Titus after 23 July 79, served in Syria where the legion was stationed for some time (the common period being three years), then returned to Rome and held the consulship<sup>2</sup>, and then governed Cappadocia. Mommsen thinks he was appointed to Cappadocia by Titus (who died 13 Sept. 81), and that this emperor was mentioned in the inscription by two different names, once as Titus Vespasianus Caesar, and once as Titus Caesar<sup>3</sup>. But though we may admit the bare *possibility* of such rapid promotion, the restoration is not probable, (1) because, as Joh. Schmidt observes, there is not room for the words αὐτοκράτορος Τίτου, (2) because a longer interval is natural between the legateship of a legion and the command of a great province like Cappadocia-Galatia. The original form of the inscription, according to our supposition, was

πρεσβε]υτ[ῆν αὐτοκρά-  
τορος Δομιτιανοῦ Καίσαρος  
Σεβ]αστοῦ Καπ[παδοκίας Γαλα-  
τία]ς Πόντου [Πισιδίας Λυκα-, &c.

<sup>1</sup> C. Antius A. Julius A. F. Quadratus governed Cappadocia as *praetorius* (Waddington *Fastes* p. 175); but he did not govern the double province; his government must have been under Domitian,

probably about 85-9.

<sup>2</sup> There is at least one case of a consulship in absence from Rome.

<sup>3</sup> The variation of name would be very unusual, but is defensible.



Then Δομιτιανοῦ was erased, and Οὔεσπασιανοῦ inserted (or possibly more was erased and Θεοῦ Οὔεσπασιανοῦ inserted).

There is not sufficient evidence to decide between the two theories. Each has difficulties; but each is possible. The defect in our theory is that it supposes a rare custom to have operated, and has recourse to a kind of cure that has not yet been received into the epigraphic pharmacopoeia. But that custom has operated in three indubitable cases; and this fourth hypothetical case is in the same province of Asia with the other three. Outside of Asia no example is known.

27. P. 180 *ad fin.* M. Waddington is doubtless right in thinking that the 'Tralleis beyond Tauros' mentioned in an inscription of Iasos (no. 287) is not this Tralla, still less Tralleis on the Maeander, but some unknown city on the south side of Tauros. It is difficult to think that the people of Iasos could have imagined that Tauros lay between them and Tralla; and the *metoikos* who is mentioned as a native of Tralleis probably was the authority for the term used. There is perhaps a bare possibility that Messogis or some nearer range was thought of as a branch of Tauros (as Pliny V 118 says, *desinit Tmolus in Cadmo, ille in Tauro*); but the phrase 'Tralleis beyond Tauros' describes a well-recognized situation beyond a range familiarly and regularly called Tauros.

28. P. 84. The earliest reference to Hierapolis is in an inscription of Iasos of the second century B.C., Wadd. 285 (Διονύσιος Νικάνορος 'Ιε[ραπ]ολίτης). Hierapolis, then, grew as a city after 190 under the Pergamenian rule (p. 173). It is defined as πρὸς Μέανδρον ποταμὸν Kaibel 148.

29. P. 126 § 4. A Dionysopolitan embassy to Rome in B.C. 59, headed by Hermippus, is mentioned by Cicero *ad Q. F.* I 2.

30. P. 147 no. 37. *θρεπτός* is assumed to mean *verna* by MM. Radet and Paris BCH 1886 p. 502; but the *θρεπτός τειμώτατος* to whom Theophilus there erects a tomb is quite likely to be an adopted foundling<sup>1</sup>. They quote in their favour CIG 1608 a, 2044. The distinction between the two senses is always difficult; and apparently the ancients themselves made no distinction, but treated a foundling as a *verna*.

31. P. 139. According to Arnobius V 6, the name Attis was connected with Attagus, the Phrygian word meaning 'goat.'

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<sup>1</sup> Such foundlings ranked practically as slaves; sometimes they were treated as such, and brought up for profit (Justin Mart. *Apol.* I 27, 29). Trajan

decided that they did not become legally slaves; but his language implies that they ordinarily were treated as slaves.



32. P. 155, no. 57. Pausanias VIII 10, 4 has the form Ὀγῶα (in one MS. Ὀγῶνα); but the inscriptions have Ὀσογῶ.

33. P. 233, no. 83 *bis*. Published BCH 1893 p. 251. On the two inside pages of a leaden diptych, found in a grave near Kaklik by Mr. Walker, engineer O.R.C. γράφω πάντας τοὺς ἐμοὶ ἄντια ποιούντας μετὰ τῶν [ἁ]ώρων, Ἐπάγαθον, Σαβίναν, Εὐτέρπην, Τερέντιον, Ἀντίοχον, Τέρτιον, Ἀμμάλιον, Ἀπολλώνιον τὸν Ἀμμαλίου τὸν Νοσσον (?), Ὀνήσιμον τὸν ANTIONANINI . . ACI. An imprecation of untimely death on the persons named. MM. Legrand and Chamonard showed delicate skill in cleaning and deciphering these *tabellae*, which I saw shortly before them and shrank from cleaning, in fear of causing injury. They mention that the diptych was found in a vase with some bones. The inscription is written from right to left.

34. P. 190. Apelles, apostle and first bishop of Herakleia (cp. *Ep. Rom.* XVI 10), must be connected with Herakleia *ad Latmum*. An early *monologion* however formally asserts that he was not bishop of Herakleia but of Smyrna. See *Anal. Bolland* XI p. 32 and *Act. Sanct.* Apr. 22, p. 4.

35. P. 113 n. 1. The term σύστημα γεροντικόν, or τῶν γερόντων, is an argument (as in Benndorf *Lykia* I p. 72) that σύστημα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων has the same sense.

36. P. 285 n. 2. We see from Livy XXXVII 54, 11, and Polybius 22, 5, 14, that, in the treaty of 190, Lycaonia and Chersonesus were at the disposal of the Romans; and the Rhodians proposed that these countries should be given to Eumenes.

Again, it is clear from Livy XXXVII 55 and Polybius 22, 7, 7 that the treaty did not enumerate the districts which were assigned to Eumenes, but summed his share up in the words, τῶν ἐπὶ τὰδε τοῦ Ταύρου κατοικούντων ὅσοι μὲν ὑπ' Ἀντίοχον ἐτάττοντο πλὴν Λυκίας καὶ Καρίας κτλ., *cis Taurum montem quae intra regni Antiochi fines fuissent praeter Lyciam Cariamque* &c. This general description was left to Cn. Manlius to interpret; and his interpretation is given in Polyb. 22, 27, 10, Livy XXXVIII 39, 16, as Φρυγίαν, Φρυγίαν, Μυσούς, Λυκαονίαν, Μιλυάδα, Λυδίαν κτλ., *Lycaoniam omnem, et Phrygiam utramque, et Mysiam, et Milyada, et Lydiam*, &c. The question raised p. 285 n. 2, whether (Λυκαο)νίαν should be taken as a corrupt adj. defining the part of Milyas that was actually handed over to Eumenes, practically means this—were Lycaonia and the whole of Milyas given to Eumenes? It is not easy to answer that question. As to Lycaonia, it would appear that, if it was assigned to Eumenes, the Pergamenian lordship was only a name. We know that Phrygia Magna was Pergamenian, was left to Rome in 133, and was sold to Mithradates in 129 by M'. Aquillius (*Add.* 1); but there is no record that Lycaonia



was treated in the same way in 129, and yet one can hardly doubt that western Lycaonia, like Phrygia Magna, was under Pontic rule after 129. Either Lycaonia was not actually given to Eumenes, or, if it was, it was soon captured by the Galatae and afterwards was reduced along with Galatia by the Pontic kings (see Mr. Rendall in *Expositor* April 1894 p. 256).

As to Milyas, we know even less. Ariassos of Milyas dated from 190–89 as an era, and that is an indication (as M. Reinach urges) that the city was made free in that year (see my paper *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1892). Probably no real power was ever exerted by the Pergamenian kings south of the Lysis valley, except in Attaleia; and the connexion with Attaleia was maintained by sea rather than by land<sup>1</sup>.

It is noteworthy that Livy changes the order of Polybius, giving undue prominence to Lycaonia. He does this, apparently, in order to preserve the order of XXXVII 54, 11; and this change may serve as an argument that Lycaonia was introduced by him. The case must remain undecided till further evidence as to the fate of Lycaonia in 190 is discovered.

Madvig read *Mysiam regiam et Milyas* in XXXVII 56, 2; M. Müller calls it *loco mendoso et lacunoso*, and alters the text (*violentius*).

37. P. 119. 28 *bis*. At Kara-Aïtlar near Hierapolis; published by M. Perrot *Rev. Arch.* 1876 I p. 278. [ἡ δείνα τῷ δέινῳ] εἰδεῖω ἀνδρὶ θηροτρόφῳ μνείας χάριν ἥδ' ἀνέθηκεν· χεῖρε λέγει παροδίτες (i. e. χαῖρε λέγει παροδίταις). The buried man was employed in attending to the animals destined for *venationes* in Laodiceia and Hierapolis, see p. 76 f. M. Perrot reads [M]εἰδεῖω, and explains differently. ἥδε is inserted to get a rude hexameter.

38. P. 202 note. The genitive ἔτον occurs in a Christian inscription of Eumeneia, see Ch. XII.

39. P. 178 l. 22. This inscription is also published by Dr. Buresch *Rh. Mus.* 1894 p. 424 and *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 Heft I.

40. P. 316 l. 1. The adj. Πισιδίας (*Acts* XIII 14), given in most editions of Ptolemy after Φρυγίας, is necessitated by the Latin text, but is omitted in the Greek MSS. The adj. was mistaken for a noun and put after Σελεύκεια (next word); and the error affected also the Latin text, which gives *Pisidiae* twice.

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<sup>1</sup> Three land-roads connected Pergamos and Attaleia, the best guarded by Termessos and Cibyra, both independent, the next by Ariassos, probably


independent, and the third, the longest, by Panemou-Teichos, of which nothing is known. Termessos was in close alliance with Pergamos, but as a free city.



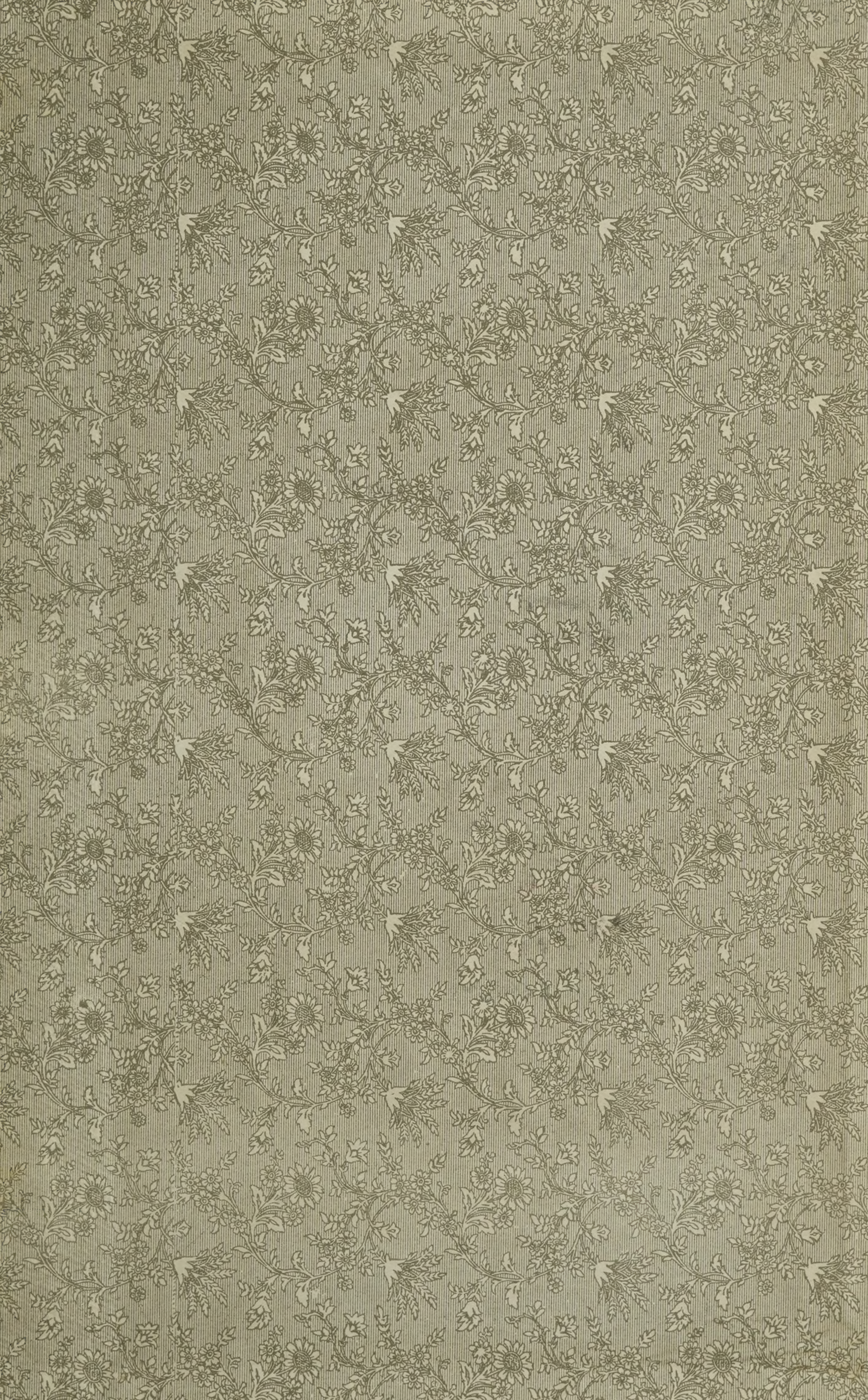




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